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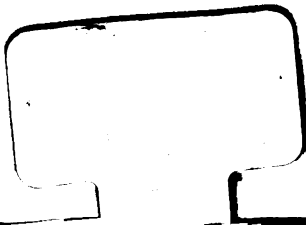
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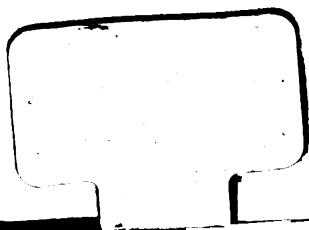


















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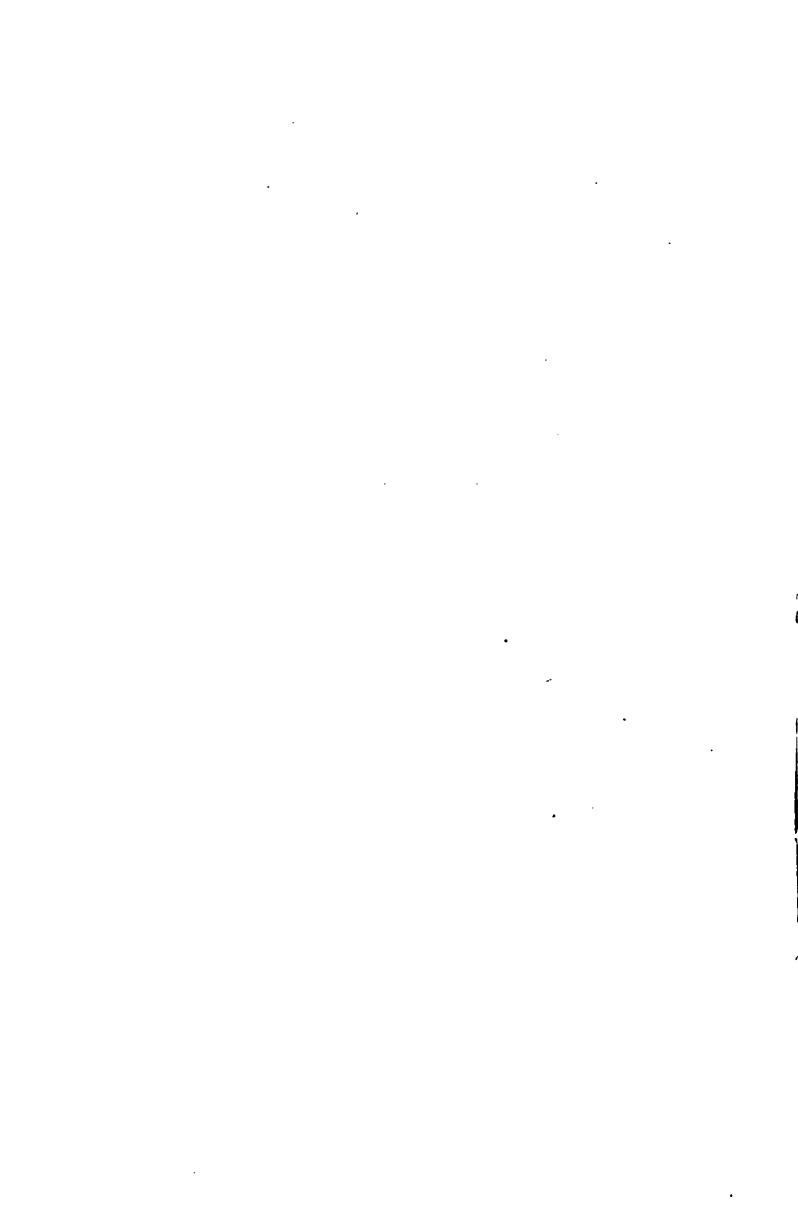
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## APOLLODORUS

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I



# APOLLODORUS

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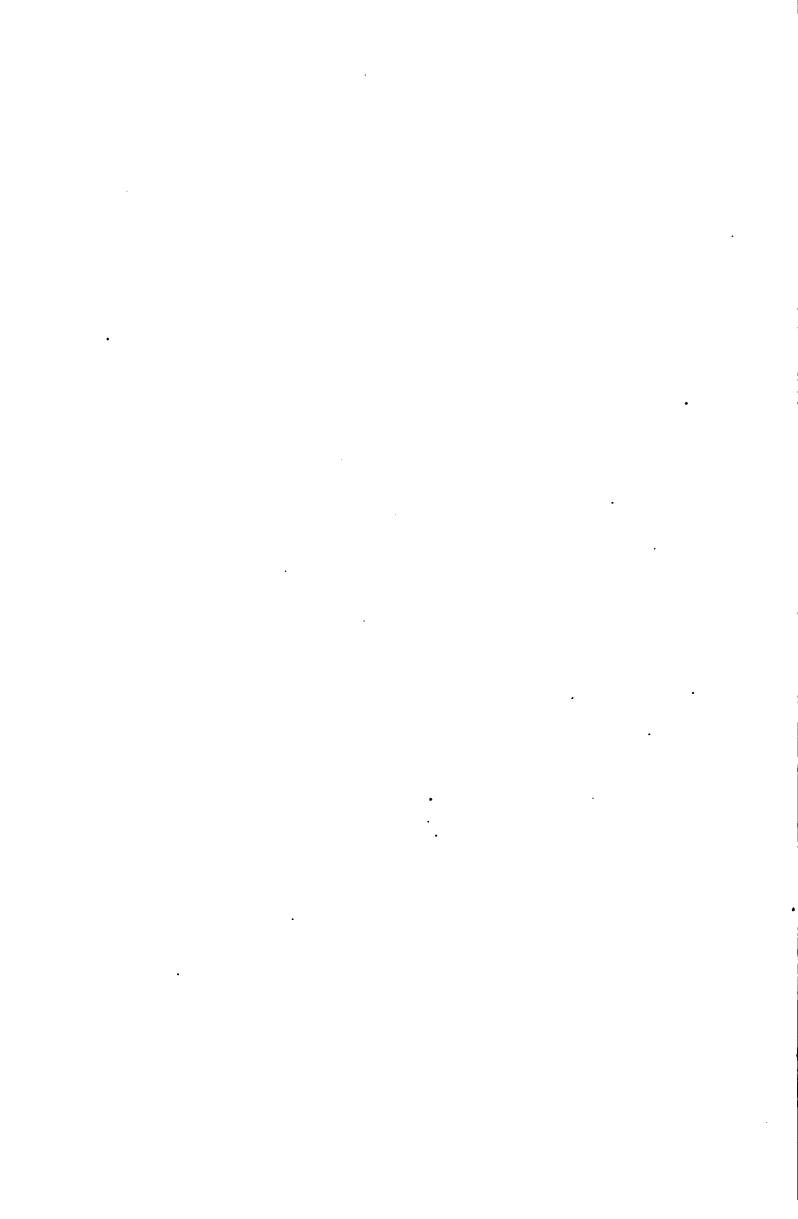
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YHABEJ OROHATE

TO

MY OLD TEACHER AND FRIEND

HENRY JACKSON, O.M.



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ERRATA.

VOL. I.

P. 73 *For* "Thestius" *read* "Agius."

VOL. II.

P. 54. *For* "later version" *read* "earlier version."

# INTRODUCTION

## I.—THE AUTHOR AND HIS BOOK

NOTHING is positively known, and little can be conjectured with any degree of probability, concerning the author of the *Library*. Writing in the ninth century of our era the patriarch Photius calls him Apollodorus the Grammarian,<sup>1</sup> and in the manuscripts of his book he is described as Apollodorus the Athenian, Grammarian. Hence we may conclude that Photius and the copyists identified our author with the eminent Athenian grammarian of that name, who flourished about 140 B.C. and wrote a number of learned works, now lost, including an elaborate treatise *On the Gods* in twenty-four books, and a poetical, or at all events versified, *Chronicle* in four books.<sup>2</sup> But in modern times good reasons have been given for rejecting this identification,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 142a, 37 sq., ed. Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* (Nördlingen, 1889), pp. 455 sqq.; Schwartz, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 2855 sqq. The fragments of Apollodorus are collected in C. Müller's *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i. 428 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> This was first fully done by Professor C. Robert in his learned and able dissertation *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* (Berlin, 1873). In what follows I accept in the main his arguments and conclusions.

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and the attribution of the *Library* to the Athenian grammarian is now generally abandoned. For the treatise *On the Gods* appears, from the surviving fragments and references, to have differed entirely in scope and method from the existing *Library*. The aim of the author of the book *On the Gods* seems to have been to explain the nature of the deities on rationalistic principles, resolving them either into personified powers of nature<sup>1</sup> or into dead men and women,<sup>2</sup> and in his dissections of the divine nature he appears to have operated freely with the very flexible instrument of etymology. Nothing could well be further from the spirit and method of the mythographer, who in the *Library* has given us a convenient summary of the traditional Greek mythology without making the smallest attempt either to explain or to criticize it. And apart from this general dissimilarity between the works of the grammarian and of the mythographer, it is possible from the surviving fragments of Apollodorus the Grammarian to point to many discrepancies and contradictions in detail.<sup>3</sup>

Another argument against the identification of the mythographer with the grammarian is that the author of the *Library* quotes the chronicler Castor;<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, iv. 27; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, iv. 649.

<sup>2</sup> Athenagoras, *Supplicatio pro Christianis*, 28, p. 150, ed. Otto; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i. 431, frag. 12.

<sup>3</sup> See C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 12 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, ii. 1. 3.

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for this Castor is supposed to be a contemporary of Cicero and the author of a history which he brought down to the year 61 B.C.<sup>1</sup> If the chronicler's date is thus correctly fixed, and our author really quoted him, it follows that the *Library* is not a work of the Athenian grammarian Apollodorus, since it cannot have been composed earlier than about the middle of the first century B.C. But there seems to be no good ground for disputing either the date of the chronicler or the genuineness of our author's reference to him; hence we may take it as fairly certain that the middle of the first century B.C. is the earliest possible date that can be assigned to the composition of the *Library*.

Further than this we cannot go with any reasonable certainty in attempting to date the work. The author gives no account of himself and never refers to contemporary events: indeed the latest occurrences recorded by him are the death of Ulysses and the return of the Heraclids. Even Rome and the Romans are not once mentioned or alluded to by him. For all he says about them, he might have lived before Romulus and Remus had built the future capital of the world on the Seven Hills.

<sup>1</sup> Suidas, *s.v.* Κάστωρ; Strabo, xii. 5. 3, p. 568; W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, p. 430. He married the daughter of King Deiotarus, whom Cicero defended in his speech *Pro rege Deiotaro*, but he was murdered, together with his wife, by his royal father-in-law. Among his writings, enumerated by Suidas, was a work *Χρονικά ἀγνοήματα*.

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And his silence on this head is all the more remarkable because the course of his work would naturally have led him more than once to touch on Roman legends. Thus he describes how Hercules traversed Italy with the cattle of Geryon from Liguria in the north to Rhegium in the south, and how from Rhegium he crossed the straits to Sicily.<sup>1</sup> Yet in this narrative he does not so much as mention Rome and Latium, far less tell the story of the hero's famous adventures in the eternal city. Again, after relating the capture and sack of Troy he devotes some space to describing the dispersal of the heroes and their settlement in many widely separated countries, including Italy and Sicily. But while he mentions the coming of Philoctetes to Campania,<sup>2</sup> and apparently recounted in some detail his wars and settlement in Southern Italy,<sup>3</sup> he does not refer to the arrival of Aeneas in Latium, though he had told the familiar stories, so dear to Roman antiquaries, of that hero's birth from Aphrodite<sup>4</sup> and his escape from Troy with his father Anchises on his back.<sup>5</sup> From this remarkable silence we can hardly draw any other inference than that the writer was either unaware of the existence of Rome or deliberately resolved to ignore it. He

<sup>1</sup> The *Library*, ii. 5. 10.      <sup>2</sup> *Epitome*, vi. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Epitome*, vi. 15b. It is to be noted, however, that this passage is not found in our manuscripts of Apollodorus but has been conjecturally restored to his text from the *Scholia on Lycophron* of Tzetzes.

<sup>4</sup> The *Library*, iii. 12. 2.      <sup>5</sup> *Epitome*, iii. 21.

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cannot have been unaware of it if he wrote, as is now generally believed, under the Roman Empire. It remains to suppose that, living with the evidence of Roman power all around him, and familiar as he must have been with the claims which the Romans set up to Trojan descent,<sup>1</sup> he carefully abstained from noticing these claims, though the mention of them was naturally invited by the scope and tenor of his work. It must be confessed that such an obstinate refusal to recognize the masters of the world is somewhat puzzling, and that it presents a serious difficulty to the now prevalent view that the author was a citizen of the Roman empire. On the other hand it would be intelligible enough if he wrote in some quiet corner of the Greek world at a time when Rome was still a purely Italian power, when rumours of her wars had hardly begun to trickle across the Adriatic, and when Roman sails had not yet shown themselves in the Aegean.

As Apollodorus ignored his contemporaries, so apparently was he ignored by them and by posterity for many generations. The first known writer to quote him is Photius in the ninth century A.D., and the next are John and Isaac Tzetzes, the learned Byzantine grammarians of the twelfth century, who made much use of his book and often cite him by

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal repeatedly speaks of the old Roman nobility as *Troiugeneae* (i. 100, viii. 181, xi. 95); and the same term is used by Silius Italicus (*Punic.* xiv. 117, xvi. 658) as equivalent to Romans.

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name.<sup>1</sup> Our author is named and quoted by scholiasts on Homer,<sup>2</sup> Sophocles,<sup>3</sup> and Euripides.<sup>4</sup> Further, many passages of his work have been interpolated, though without the mention of their author's name, in the collection of proverbs which Zenobius composed in the time of Hadrian.<sup>5</sup> But as we do not know when the scholiasts and the interpolator lived, their quotations furnish us with no clue for dating the *Library*.

Thus, so far as the external evidence goes, our author may have written at any time between the middle of the first century B.C. and the beginning of the ninth century A.D. When we turn to the internal evidence furnished by his language, which is the only remaining test open to us, we shall be disposed to place his book much nearer to the earlier than to the later of these dates. For his Greek style, apart from a few inaccuracies or solecisms, is fairly correct and such as might not discredit a writer of the first or second century of our era. Even turns or phrases, which at first sight strike the reader as undoubted symptoms of a late or degenerate Greek, may occasionally be defended by the example of earlier writers. For example, he

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Tzetzes, *Scholia on Lycophron*, 178, 355, 440, 1327; *id.*, *Chiliades*, i. 557.

<sup>2</sup> Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, 126, 195; ii. 103, 494.

<sup>3</sup> Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 981, ταῦτα δ' ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ.

<sup>4</sup> Scholiast on Euripides, *Alcestis*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> As to the date of Zenobius, see Suidas, s.v. Ζηνόβιος.

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once uses the phrase *ταῖς ἀληθείαις* in the sense of "in very truth."<sup>1</sup> Unquestionably this use of the plural is common enough in late writers,<sup>2</sup> but it is not unknown in earlier writers, such as Polybius,<sup>3</sup> Alcidas,<sup>4</sup> and even Isocrates.<sup>5</sup> It occurs in some verses on the unity of God, which are attributed to Sophocles, but which appear to be undoubtedly spurious.<sup>6</sup> More conclusive evidence of a late date is furnished by our author's use of the subjunctive with *ἵνα*, where more correct writers would have employed the infinitive;<sup>7</sup> and by his occasional employment of rare words or words used in an unusual sense.<sup>8</sup> But such blemishes are comparatively rare. On the whole we may say that the style of Apollodorus is generally pure and always clear,

<sup>1</sup> ii. 7. 7.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see Babrius, lxxv. 19, with Rutherford's note; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 522; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ix. 557; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, ii. 178, iv. 815. <sup>3</sup> Polybius, x. 40. 5, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>4</sup> Alcidas, *Odysseus*, 13, p. 179 in Blass's edition of Antiphon. However the genuineness of the *Odysseus* is much disputed. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, i. 1536.

<sup>5</sup> Isocrates, xv. 283, vol. ii. p. 168, ed. Benseler.

<sup>6</sup> *The Fragments of Sophocles*, edited by A. C. Pearson (Cambridge, 1917), vol. iii. p. 172, frag. 1126, with Jebb's note, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> i. 4. 2, *συνθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἵνα . . . διαθῆ*: i. 9. 15, *ἤτησατο παρὰ μοιρῶν ἵνα . . . ἀπολυθῆ*: iii. 12. 6, *ποιησαμένου εὐχὰς Ἡρακλέους ἵνα αὐτῷ παῖς γένηται*: *Epitome*, v. 17, *δέξαν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐδώσι*.

<sup>8</sup> For example *ἐκτροχάζειν*, "to run out" (ii. 7. 3), *προσ-ἀνέχειν*, "to favour" (ii. 8. 4). For more instances see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 42 sqq.



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simple, and unaffected, except in the very rare instances where he spangles his plain prose with a tag from one of his poetical sources.<sup>1</sup> But with all his simplicity and directness he is not an elegant writer. In particular the accumulation of participles, to which he is partial, loads and clogs the march of his sentences.

From a consideration of his style, and of all the other evidence, Professor C. Robert inclines to conclude that the author of the *Library* was a contemporary of Hadrian and lived in the earlier part of the first century A.D.<sup>2</sup> Another modern scholar, W. Christ, even suggested so late a date for the composition of the work as the reign of Alexander Severus in the third century A.D.<sup>3</sup> To me it seems that we cannot safely say more than that the *Library* was probably written at some time in either the first or the second century of our era. Whether the author's name was really Apollodorus, or whether that name was foisted on him by the error or fraud of scribes, who mistook him or desired to palm him off on the public for the famous Athenian grammarian, we have no means of deciding. Nor, apart from the description of him by the copyists as "Apollodorus the Athenian," have

<sup>1</sup> See for example his description of the Cretan labyrinth as σῆκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον (iii. 1. 3, compare iii. 15. 8); and his description of Typhon breathing fire, πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασσε (άλην) (i. 6. 3).

<sup>2</sup> C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 40 sq.

<sup>3</sup> W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*, p. 571.

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we any clue to the land of his birth. He himself is silent on that as on every other topic concerning himself. But from some exceedingly slight indications Professor C. Robert conjectures that he was indeed an Athenian.<sup>1</sup>

Turning now from the author to his book, we may describe the *Library* as a plain unvarnished summary of Greek myths and heroic legends, as these were recorded in literature; for the writer makes no claim to draw on oral tradition, nor is there the least evidence or probability that he did so: it may be taken as certain that he derived all his information from books alone. But he used excellent authorities and followed them faithfully, reporting, but seldom or never attempting to explain or reconcile, their discrepancies and contradictions.<sup>2</sup> Hence his book possesses documentary value as an accurate record of what the Greeks in general believed about the origin and early history of the world and of their race. The very defects of the writer are in a sense advantages which he possessed for the execution of the work he had taken in hand. He was neither a philosopher nor a rhetorician, and therefore lay under no temptation either to recast his materials under the influence of theory or to embellish them

<sup>1</sup> C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 34 sq. Amongst these indications is the author's acquaintance with the "sea of Erechtheus" and the sacred olive-tree on the Acropolis of Athens. See Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

<sup>2</sup> This is recognized by Professor C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, p. 54.

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for the sake of literary effect. He was a common man, who accepted the traditions of his country in their plain literal sense, apparently without any doubt or misgiving. Only twice, among the many discrepant or contradictory views which he reports without wincing, does he venture to express a preference for one over the other. The apples of the Hesperides, he says, were not, as some people supposed, in Libya but in the far north, in the land of the Hyperboreans; but of the existence of the wondrous fruit, and of the hundred-headed dragon which guarded them, he seemingly entertained no manner of doubt.<sup>1</sup> Again, he tells us that in the famous dispute between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Attica, the judges whom Zeus appointed to adjudicate on the case were not, as some people said, Cecrops and Cranaus, nor yet Erysichthon, but the twelve gods in person.<sup>2</sup>

How closely Apollodorus followed his authorities may be seen by a comparison of his narratives with the extant originals from which he drew them, such as the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles,<sup>3</sup> the *Alcestis*<sup>4</sup> and *Medea*<sup>5</sup> of Euripides, the *Odyssey*,<sup>6</sup> and above all the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius.<sup>7</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodorus, iii. 3. 5. 7 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Apollodorus, i. 9. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus, i. 9. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii.

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus, ii. 9. 16-28. However, Apollodorus allowed himself occasionally to depart from the authority of Apollonius, for example, in regard to the death of Apsyrtus. See i. 19. 24 with the note; and for other variations, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 80 *sqq.*

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· fidelity with which he reproduced or summarized the accounts of writers whose works are accessible to us inspires us with confidence in accepting his statements concerning others whose writings are lost. Among these, perhaps, the most important was Pherecydes of Leros, who lived at Athens in the first half of the fifth century B.C. and composed a long prose work on Greek myth and legend, which more than any other would seem to have served as the model and foundation for the *Library* of Apollodorus. It is unfortunate that the writings of Pherecydes have perished, for, if we may judge of them by the few fragments which survive, they appear to have been a treasure-house of Greek mythical and legendary lore, set forth with that air of simplicity and sincerity which charm us in Herodotus. The ground which he covered, and the method which he pursued in cultivating it, coincided to a large extent with those of our author. Thus he treated of the theogony, of the war of the gods and the giants, of Prometheus, of Hercules, of the Argive and the Cretan sagas, of the voyage of the Argo, and of the tribal or family legends of Arcadia, Laconia, and Attica; and like Apollodorus he seems to have paid great attention to genealogies.<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus often cites his opinion, and we cannot doubt that he owed much to the writings of his

<sup>1</sup> See W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* p. 249; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 70 *sqq.*

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learned predecessor.<sup>1</sup> Other lost writers whom our author cites, and from whose works he derived materials for his book, are the early Boeotian genealogist Acusilaus, who seems to have lived about 500 B.C., and Asclepiades of Tragilus, a pupil of Isocrates, in the fourth century B.C., who composed a treatise on the themes of Greek tragedies.<sup>2</sup>

Compiled faithfully, if uncritically, from the best literary sources open to him, the *Library* of Apollodorus presents us with a history of the world, as it was conceived by the Greeks, from the dark beginning down to a time when the mists of fable began to lift and to disclose the real actors on the scene. In other words, Apollodorus conducts us from the purely mythical ages, which lie far beyond the reach of human memory, down to the borderland of history. For I see no reason to doubt that many, perhaps most, of the legendary persons recorded by him were not fabulous beings, but men of flesh and blood, the memory of whose fortunes and family relationships survived in oral

<sup>1</sup> As to the obligations of Apollodorus to Pherecydes, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 66 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> For the fragments of Acusilaus and Asclepiades, see *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 101 sqq., iii. 301 sqq. Another passage of Acusilaus, with which Apollodorus would seem to have been acquainted, has lately been discovered in an Egyptian papyrus. See *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Part XIII, edited by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt (London, 1919), p. 133; and my note on Apollodorus, *Epitome*, i. 22, vol. ii. p. 151. As to the obligations of Apollodorus to Acusilaus and Asclepiades, see C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 68 sqq., 72 sqq.

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tradition until they were embalmed in Greek literature. It is true that in his book, as in legend generally, the real and the fabulous elements blend so intimately with each other that it is often difficult or impossible to distinguish them. For example, while it seems tolerably certain that the tradition of the return of the Heraclids to Peloponnese is substantially correct, their ancestor Hercules a few generations earlier looms still so dim through the fog of fable and romance that we can hardly say whether any part of his gigantic figure is solid, in other words, whether the stories told of him refer to a real man at all or only to a creature of fairyland.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In favour of the view that Hercules was a man of flesh and blood, a native of Thebes, might be cited the annual sacrifice and funeral games celebrated by the Thebans at one of the gates of the city in honour of the children of Hercules (Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast); the statement of Herodotus (v. 59) that he had seen in the sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes a tripod bearing an inscription in "Cadmæan letters" which set forth that the tripod had been dedicated by Amphitryon, the human father of Hercules; and again the statement of Plutarch (*De genio Socratis*, 5; compare *id. Lysander*, 28) that the grave of Alcmena, mother of Hercules, at Haliartus had been opened by the Spartans and found to contain a small bronze armet, two jars with petrified earth, and an inscription in strange and very ancient characters on a bronze tablet, which Agesilaus sent to the king of Egypt to be read by the priests, because the form of the inscription was supposed to be Egyptian. The kernel round which the Theban saga of Hercules gathered may perhaps have been the delivery of Thebes from the yoke of the Minyans of Orchomenus; for according to tradition Thebes formerly paid tribute to that ancient and once powerful people, and it was Hercules who not only freed his people from that badge of servitude, but

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Again, though the record of the old wars of Thebes and Troy is embellished or defaced by many mythical episodes and incidents, we need not scruple to believe that its broad outlines are true, and that the principal heroes and heroines of the Theban and Trojan legends were real and not mythical beings.

Of late years it has been supposed that the heroes and heroines of Greek legend are "faded gods," that is, purely imaginary beings, who have been first exalted to the dignity of deities, and then degraded to a rank not much above that of common humanity. So far as I can judge, this theory is actually an inversion

gained so decisive a victory over the enemy that he reversed the relations between the two cities by imposing a heavy tribute on Orchomenus. There is nothing impossible or even improbable in the tradition as recorded by Apollodorus (ii. 4. 11). Viewed in this light, the delivery of the Thebans from the Orchomenians resembles the delivery of the Israelites from the Philistines, and Hercules may well have been the Greek counterpart of Samson, whose historical existence has been similarly dimmed by fable. Again, the story that after the battle Hercules committed a murder and went to serve Eurystheus as an exile at Tiryns (Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12) tallies perfectly with the usage of what is called the heroic age of Greece. The work of Apollodorus contains many instances of banishment and servitude imposed as a penalty on homicides. The most famous example is the period of servitude which the great god Apollo himself had to undergo as an expiation for his slaughter of the Cyclopes. (See Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4.) A homicide had regularly to submit to a ceremony of purification before he was free to associate with his fellows, and apparently the ceremony was always performed by a foreigner in a country other than that in which the crime had been committed. This of itself entailed at least temporary banishment on the homicide. (See Index, *s. vv.* "Exile" and "Purification.")

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of the truth. Instead of the heroes being gods on the downward road to humanity, they are men on the upward road to divinity; in other words, they are men of flesh and blood, about whom after their death fancy spun her glittering cobwebs till their real humanity was hardly recognizable, and they partook more and more of the character of deities. When we consider the divine or semi-divine honours paid in historical times to men like Miltiades,<sup>1</sup> Brasidas,<sup>2</sup> Sophocles,<sup>3</sup> Dion,<sup>4</sup> Aratus,<sup>5</sup> and Philopoemen,<sup>6</sup> whose real existence is incontestable, it seems impossible to deny that the tendency to deify ordinary mortals was an

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus, vi. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides, v. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Δεξιων, p. 256. 6.; Istrus, quoted in a life of Sophocles, *Vitarum Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. A. Westermann (Brunswick, 1845), p. 131; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 425. The poet was worshipped under the title of Dexion, and "the sanctuary of Dexion" is mentioned in an Athenian inscription of the fourth century B.C. See Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques* (Brussels, 1920), No. 966, pp. 761 sq.; G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>3</sup>, No. 1096 (vol. iii. pp. 247 sq.). Compare P. Foucart, *Le culte des Héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), pp. 121 sqq. (from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, tome xlii.). In this valuable memoir the veteran French scholar has treated of the worship of heroes among the Greeks with equal judgment and learning. With his treatment of the subject and his general conclusions I am happy to find myself in agreement.

<sup>4</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 20.

<sup>5</sup> Polybius, viii. 14; Plutarch, *Aratus*, 53; Pausanias, ii. 8. 1, ii. 9. 4 and 6.

<sup>6</sup> Diodorus Siculus, xxix. 18, ed. L. Dindorf; Livy, xxxix. 50. Heroic or divine honours are not mentioned by Plutarch in his impressive description of the funeral of Philopoemen (*Philopoemen*, 21); but he says that the Messenian prisoners were stoned to death at the tomb.



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operative principle in ancient Greek religion, and that the seeds of divinity which it sowed were probably still more prolific in earlier and less enlightened ages; for it appears to be a law of theological evolution that the number of deities in existence at any moment varies inversely with the state of knowledge of the period, multiplying or dwindling as the boundaries of ignorance advance or recede. Even in the historical age of Greece the ranks of the celestial hierarchy were sometimes recruited, not by the slow process of individual canonization, as we may call it, but by a levy in mass; as when all the gallant men who died for the freedom of Greece at Marathon and Plataea received the first step of promotion on the heavenly ladder by being accorded heroic honours, which they enjoyed down to the second century of our era.<sup>1</sup>

Yet it would be an error to suppose that all Greek heroes and heroines had once been live men and women. Many of them were doubtless purely

<sup>1</sup> As to the heroic honours accorded to the dead at Marathon, see Pausanias, i. 32. 4; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. No. 471. Remains of the sacrifices offered to the dead soldiers have come to light at Marathon in modern times. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. 433 sq. As to the heroic honours enjoyed by the dead at Plataea, see Thucydides, iii. 58; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 21; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin, 1878), No. 461, p. 183; *Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis Oropiae Boeotiae*, ed. G. Dittenberger (Berlin, 1892), No. 53, pp. 31 sq. In the inscription the dead are definitely styled "heroes," and it is mentioned that the bull was still sacrificed to them by the city "down to our time" (μεχρις εφ' ημων).

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fictitious beings, created on the model of the others to satisfy the popular craving for supernatural patronage. Such in particular were many of the so-called eponymous heroes, who figured as the ancestors of families and of tribes, as the founders of cities, and as the patrons of corporations and trade guilds. The receipt for making a hero of this pattern was simple. You took the name of the family, tribe, city, corporation, or guild, as the case might be, clapped on a masculine termination, and the thing was done. If you were scrupulous or a stickler for form, you might apply to the fount of wisdom at Delphi, which would send you a brevet on payment, doubtless, of the usual fee. Thus when Clisthenes had created the ten Attic tribes, and the indispensable heroes were wanted to serve as figure-heads, the Athenians submitted a "long leet" of a hundred candidates to the god at Delphi, and he pricked the names of ten, who entered on their office accordingly.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes the fictitious hero might even receive offerings of real blood, as happened to Phocus, the nominal ancestor of the Phocians, who got a libation of blood poured into his grave every day,<sup>2</sup> being much luckier than another hero, real or fictitious, at Phaselis in Lycia, who was kept on a low diet of fish

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 21; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. Ἐπώνυμοι; Scholiast on Aristides, *Panathen.*, vol. iii. p. 331, ed. G. Dindorf (where for Καλλισθένης we must read Κλεισθένης). As to the fictitious heroes, see P. Foucart, *Le culte des Héros chez les Grecs*, pp. 47 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias, x. 4. 10. As to Phocus in his character of eponymous hero of Phocis, see Pausanias, x. 1. 1.

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and had his rations served out to him only once a year.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to conceive how on such a scale of remuneration the poor hero contrived to subsist from one year's end to the other.

The system of Euhemerus, which resolves the gods into dead men, unquestionably suffers from the vice inherent in all systems which would explain the infinite multiplicity and diversity of phenomena by a single simple principle, as if a single clue, like Ariadne's thread, could guide us to the heart of this labyrinthine universe; nevertheless the theory of the old Greek thinker contains a substantial element of truth, for deep down in human nature is the tendency, powerful for good as well as for evil, to glorify and worship our fellow-men, crowning their mortal brows with the aureole as well as the bay. While many of the Greek gods, as Ouranos and Ge, Helios and Selene, the Naiads, the Dryads, and so on, are direct and transparent personifications of natural powers; and while others, such as Nike, Hygieia, and Tyche, are equally direct and transparent personifications of abstract ideas,<sup>2</sup> it is possible

<sup>1</sup> Athenaeus, vii. 51, pp. 297E-298A.

<sup>2</sup> The personification and deification of abstract ideas in Greek and Roman religion are illustrated, with a great wealth of learning, by L. Deubner in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, iii. 2068 sqq. What Juvenal says (x. 365 sq.) of the goddess of Fortune, one of the most popular of these deified abstractions, might be said with equal truth of many other gods and goddesses:

*Nos te,  
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.*

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and even probable that some members of the pantheon set out on their career of glory as plain men and women, though we can no longer trace their pedigree back through the mists of fable to their humble origin. In the heroes and heroines of Greek legend and history we see these gorgeous beings in the chrysalis or incubatory stage, before they have learned to burst the integuments of earth and to flaunt their gaudy wings in the sunshine of heaven. The cerements still cling to their wasted frames, but will soon be exchanged for a gayer garb in their passage from the tomb to the temple.

But besides the mythical and legendary narratives which compose the bulk of the *Library*, we may detect another element in the work of our author which ought not to be overlooked, and that is the element of folk-tale. As the distinction between myth, legend, and folk-tale is not always clearly apprehended or uniformly observed, it may be well to define the sense in which I employ these terms.

By myths I understand mistaken explanations of phenomena, whether of human life or of external nature. Such explanations originate in that instinctive curiosity concerning the causes of things which at a more advanced stage of knowledge seeks satisfaction in philosophy and science, but being founded on ignorance and misapprehension they are always false, for were they true they would cease to be myths. The subjects of myths are as numerous as the objects which present themselves to the mind

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of man; for everything excites his curiosity, and of everything he desires to learn the cause. Among the larger questions which many peoples have attempted to answer by myths are those which concern the origin of the world and of man, the apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, the regular recurrence of the seasons, the growth and decay of vegetation, the fall of rain, the phenomena of thunder and lightning, of eclipses and earthquakes, the discovery of fire, the invention of the useful arts, the beginnings of society, and the mystery of death. In short, the range of myths is as wide as the world, being coextensive with the curiosity and the ignorance of man.<sup>1</sup>

By legends I understand traditions, whether oral or written, which relate the fortunes of real people in the past, or which describe events, not necessarily

<sup>1</sup> By a curious limitation of view some modern writers would restrict the scope of myths to ritual, as if nothing but ritual were fitted to set men wondering and meditating on the causes of things. As a recent writer has put it concisely, "*Les mythes sont les explications des rites*" (F. Sartiaux, "*La philosophie de l'histoire des religions et les origines du Christianisme dans le dernier ouvrage de M. Loisy,*" *Revue du Mois*, Septembre-Octobre, 1920, p. 15 of the separate reprint). It might have been thought that merely to open such familiar collections of myths as the *Theogony* of Hesiod, the *Library* of Apollodorus, or the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, would have sufficed to dissipate so erroneous a conception; for how small is the attention paid to ritual in these works! No doubt some myths have been devised to explain rites of which the true origin was forgotten; but the number of such myths is small, probably almost infinitesimally small, by comparison with myths which deal with other subjects and have had another origin.

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human, that are said to have occurred at real places. Such legends contain a mixture of truth and falsehood, for were they wholly true, they would not be legends but histories. The proportion of truth and falsehood naturally varies in different legends; generally, perhaps, falsehood predominates, at least in the details, and the element of the marvellous or the miraculous often, though not always, enters largely into them.

By folk-tales I understand narratives invented by persons unknown and handed down at first by word of mouth from generation to generation, narratives which, though they profess to describe actual occurrences, are in fact purely imaginary, having no other aim than the entertainment of the hearer and making no real claim on his credulity. In short, they are fictions pure and simple, devised not to instruct or edify the listener, but only to amuse him; they belong to the region of pure romance. The zealous student of myth and ritual, more intent on explaining than on enjoying the lore of the people, is too apt to invade the garden of romance and with a sweep of his scythe to lay the flowers of fancy in the dust. He needs to be reminded occasionally that we must not look for a myth or a rite behind every tale, like a bull behind every hedge or a canker in every rose. The mind delights in a train of imagery for its own sake apart from any utility to be derived from the visionary scenes that pass before her, just as she is charmed by the contemplation of

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a fair landscape, adorned with green woods, shining rivers, and far blue hills, without thinking of the timber which the woodman's axe will fell in these green glades, of the fish which the angler's line will draw from these shining pools, or of the ore which the miner's pick may one day hew from the bowels of these far blue hills. And just as it is a mistake to search for a mythical or magical significance in every story which our rude forefathers have bequeathed to us by word of mouth, so it is an error to interpret in the same sad and serious sense every carving and picture with which they decorated the walls of their caverns. From early times, while some men have told stories for the sheer joy of telling them, others have drawn and carved and painted for the pure pleasure which the mind takes in mimicry, the hand in deft manipulation, and the eye in beautiful forms and colours.<sup>1</sup> The utilitarian creed is good and true only on condition that we interpret utility in a large and liberal sense, and do

<sup>1</sup> M. Marcellin Boule has lately made some judicious observations on the tendency to push too far the magical interpretation of prehistoric cave paintings. Without denying that magic had its place in these early works of art, he concludes, with great verisimilitude, that in the beginning "*l'art n'est probablement qu'une manifestation particulière d'un esprit général d'imitation déjà si développé chez les singes.*" See his book, *Les Hommes Fossiles* (Paris, 1921), p. 260 note. A similar view of the origin of art in emotional impulses rather than in the deliberate and purposeful action of magic and religion, is expressed by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy in his able work, *Principles and Methods of Physical Anthropology* (Patna, 1920), pp. 87 sq.

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not restrict it to the bare satisfaction of those bodily instincts on which ultimately depends the continuance both of the individual and of the species.

If these definitions be accepted, we may say that myth has its source in reason, legend in memory, and folk-tale in imagination; and that the three riper products of the human mind which correspond to these its crude creations are science, history, and romance.

But while educated and reflective men can clearly distinguish between myths, legends, and folk-tales, it would be a mistake to suppose that the people, among whom these various narratives commonly circulate, and whose intellectual cravings they satisfy, can always or habitually discriminate between them. For the most part, perhaps, the three sorts of narratives are accepted by the folk as all equally true or at least equally probable. To take Apollodorus, for example, as a type of the common man, there is not the least indication that he drew any distinction in respect of truth or probability between the very different kinds of narrative which he included in the *Library*. To him they seem to have been all equally credible; or if he entertained any doubts as to their credibility, he carefully suppressed them.

Among the specimens, or rather morsels, of popular fiction which meet us in his pages we may instance the tales of Meleager, Melampus, Medea, Glaucus, Perseus, Peleus, and Thetis, which all bear traces of the story-teller's art, as appears plainly enough



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when we compare them with similar incidents in undoubted folk-tales. To some of these stories, with the comparisons which they invite, I have called attention in the notes and Appendix, but their number might no doubt easily be enlarged. It seems not improbable that the element of folk-tale bulks larger in Greek tradition than has commonly been suspected. When the study of folk-lore is more complete and exact than at present, it may be possible to trace to their sources many rivulets of popular fiction which contributed to swell the broad and stately tide of ancient literature.<sup>1</sup>

In some respects the *Library* of Apollodorus resembles the book of Genesis. Both works profess to record the history of the world from the creation, or at all events from the ordering of the material universe, down to the time when the ancestors of the author's people emerged in the land which was to be the home of their race and the scene of their

<sup>1</sup> Among recent works which mark a distinct advance in the study of folk-tales I would particularly mention the modestly named *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* by Johannes Bolte and Georg Polivka, published in three octavo volumes, Leipsic, 1913-1918. A fourth volume, containing an index and a survey of the folk-tales of other peoples, is promised and will add greatly to the utility of this very learned work, which does honour to German scholarship. Even as it is, though it deals only with the German stories collected by the two Grimms, the book contains the fullest bibliography of folk-tales with which I am acquainted. I regret that it did not reach me until all my notes were passed for the press, but I have been able to make some use of it in the Appendix.

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glory. In both works the mutations of nature and the vicissitudes of man are seen through the glamour, and distorted or magnified by the haze, of myth and legend. Both works are composite, being pieced together by a comparatively late redactor, who combined materials drawn from a variety of documents, without always taking pains to explain their differences or to harmonize their discrepancies. But there the resemblance between them ends. For whereas the book of Genesis is a masterpiece of literary genius, the *Library* of Apollodorus is the dull compilation of a commonplace man, who relates without one touch of imagination or one spark of enthusiasm the long series of fables and legends which inspired the immortal productions of Greek poetry and the splendid creations of Greek art. Yet we may be grateful to him for saving for us from the wreck of ancient literature some waifs and strays which, but for his humble labours, might have sunk irretrievably with so many golden argosies in the fathomless ocean of the past.

### II.—MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

1. *Manuscripts.*<sup>1</sup> A fair number of manuscripts of the *Library* are known to exist, but they are all late and of little value. All are incomplete, ending

<sup>1</sup> This account of the manuscripts is derived from Mr. R. Wagner's preface to his critical edition of the text (Teubner, Leipsic, 1894).

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abruptly in the middle of Theseus's adventures on his first journey to Athens. This of itself raises a presumption that all are copies of one defective original. The latest editor, Mr. Richard Wagner, enumerates fourteen manuscripts, of which he has employed ten for his recension of the text. Among them he singles out one as the archetype from which all the other extant manuscripts are derived. It is a fourteenth century manuscript in the National Library at Paris and bears the number 2722. Mr. Wagner designates it by the symbol *R*. The other nine manuscripts employed by him he arranges in three classes, as follows :—

The first class comprises two manuscripts, namely one of the fifteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (*Laudianus 55*), and one of the fifteenth or sixteenth century at Paris (numbered 2967). Mr. Wagner designates the Oxford manuscript by the symbol *O* and the Paris manuscript by the symbol *R<sup>a</sup>*.

The second class, designated by the symbol *B*, comprises three manuscripts, namely a Palatine-Vatican manuscript of the sixteenth century, numbered 52 (symbol *P*); a Paris manuscript of the sixteenth century, numbered 1653 (symbol *R<sup>b</sup>*), and another Paris manuscript of the fifteenth century, numbered 1658 (symbol *R<sup>c</sup>*).

The third class, designated by the symbol *C*, comprises four manuscripts, namely a Vatican manuscript of the fifteenth century, numbered 1017 (symbol *V*);

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a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Laurentian Library at Florence, numbered LX. 29 (symbol L); a manuscript of the fifteenth century at Naples, numbered III. A 1 (symbol N); and a manuscript of the fifteenth century at Turin numbered C II. 11 (symbol T).

Besides these, Mr. Wagner mentions four manuscripts which appear not to have been accurately collated. They are: a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (d'Orvillianus X. I. 1, 1); a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the British Museum (Harleianus 5732); a manuscript of the sixteenth century at Turin (B IV. 5); and a manuscript of the sixteenth century in the Barberini palace at Rome (T 122). Of these the British Museum manuscript is reported to be well written, and the two Italian manuscripts to be very bad.

Such were the materials which existed for establishing the text of the *Library* down to 1885, when Mr. R. Wagner, examining some mythological works in the Vatican Library at Rome, was so fortunate as to discover a Greek manuscript (No. 950), of the end of the fourteenth century, which contains an epitome of the *Library*, including the greater part of the portion at the end which had long been lost. Two years later Mr. A. Papadopulos-Kerameus discovered fragments of a similar epitome in a Greek manuscript at Jerusalem. The manuscript formerly belonged to the monastery (laura) of St. Sabbas and hence is

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known as the *Codex Sabbaiticus*. It is now preserved in the library of the patriarch at Jerusalem and bears the number 366. By a curious coincidence the discoverers published the two epitomes almost simultaneously, but without any knowledge of each other.<sup>1</sup> The text of the two epitomes, though in general agreement, does not always coincide exactly. Where the text of the Vatican epitome differs from the Sabbaitic, it sometimes agrees with the text of Apollodorus as quoted by Tzetzes, and this agreement has led Mr. Wagner to conclude that Tzetzes is the author of the Vatican epitome. Certainly Tzetzes was well acquainted with the *Library of Apollodorus* and drew upon it largely in his learned commentary on Lycophron. It would not, therefore, be surprising if he had made an abridgment of it for his own use or that of his pupils. The hypothesis of his authorship is confirmed by the observation that the same manuscript, which contains the Vatican epitome, contains also part of Tzetzes's commentary on Lycophron.

<sup>1</sup> The Vatican epitome was published by Mr. R. Wagner in a separate volume, with Latin notes and dissertations, at Leipsic in 1891, under the title *Epitoma Vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca, edidit Richardus Wagner, Accedunt Curae Mythographae de Apollodori fontibus*. The Sabbaitic fragments of the epitome were published by Mr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xlvi. (1891), pp. 161-192 under the title *Apollodori Bibliothecae fragmenta Sabbaitica*. The Sabbaitic manuscript was examined again by Mr. H. Achelis, and some corrected readings which he reported were published by Professor Hermann Diels in the same volume of the *Rheinisches Museum*, pp. 617 sq.

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2. *Editions.* The first edition of the *Library* was published by Benedictus Aegius at Rome in 1555. In it the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation and followed by some notes. The second edition was prepared by the scholar and printer Hieronymus Commelinus and published posthumously at his press in Heidelberg in 1599. It contains the Latin version of Aegius as well as the Greek text, and prefixed to it are a few critical notes by Commelinus, chiefly recording the readings of the Palatine manuscript. The next edition was brought out by Tanaquil Faber (Salmurii, 1661). I have not seen it, but according to Heyne it contains some slight and hasty notes not unworthy of a scholar. The next editor was the learned English scholar Thomas Gale, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University. He edited Apollodorus along with the mythological treatises of Conon, Ptolemaeus Hephaestionis, Parthenius, and Antoninus Liberalis, in a volume entitled *Historiae Poeticae Scriptores Antiqui*, which was published, or at all events printed, at Paris in 1675. For his recension of Apollodorus he used the readings of at least one Oxford manuscript, but according to Heyne he was not very diligent in consulting it. His text of Apollodorus and the other mythographers is accompanied by a Latin translation and followed by critical and exegetical notes.

All previous editions of Apollodorus were superseded by the one which the illustrious German

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scholar C. G. Heyne published with a copious critical and exegetical commentary. It appeared in two volumes, first in 1782 and 1783, and afterwards, revised and improved, at Göttingen in 1803.<sup>1</sup> Though he did not himself consult any manuscripts, he used the collations of several manuscripts, including the Palatine, Vatican, Medicean, and two in the Royal Library at Paris, which had been made many years before by a young scholar, Gerard Jacob van Swinden, for an edition of Apollodorus which he had planned. Heyne also made use of some extracts from a third manuscript in the Royal Library at Paris, which were procured for him by J. Schweighäuser. With the help of these collations and his own admirable critical sagacity, Heyne was able to restore the text of Apollodorus in many places, and to purge it of many alien words or sentences which had been interpolated from scholia or other sources by the first editor, Aegius, and retained by later editors. His commentary bears ample witness to his learning, acumen, and good sense, and fully sustains his high reputation as a scholar.

A new edition of Apollodorus was published in two volumes, with a French translation and notes by E. Clavier, at Paris in 1805, and another with notes,

<sup>1</sup> This second edition was issued in two forms, one in octavo, the other in smaller volumes. I have used the octavo edition. The first volume contains the Greek text with introduction and critical notes, but no translation. The second volume contains the exegetical commentary.

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apparently in Latin, by Chr. L. Sommer at Rudolstadt in 1822. These two editions, like the early one of Faber, I have not seen and know them only by report. In the first volume of his great edition of the fragments of the Greek historians,<sup>1</sup> C. Müller included the text of Apollodorus with a Latin translation. He had the advantage of using for the first time a collation of the Paris manuscript 2722, which, as we have seen, is now believed to be the archetype of all the extant manuscripts of Apollodorus. The text of Apollodorus was edited, with critical notes, by A. Westermann in his collection of ancient Greek mythologists (*Scriptores Poeticae Historiae Graeci*, Brunswick, 1843), but he collated no manuscripts for the purpose. And contrary to his usual practice the great scholar Immanuel Bekker also collated no manuscripts for the edition of Apollodorus which he published (Teubner, Leipsic, 1854). Nevertheless, relying on his own excellent judgment, profound knowledge of Greek, and long experience of the ways of copyists, he produced a sound text, corrected in places by his conjectures. The edition of R. Hercher which followed (Weidmann, Berlin, 1874) is characterized by the introduction of many conjectural readings, a few of them plausible or probable, and by such copious excisions that this

<sup>1</sup> *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, five volumes, Paris. The preface to the first volume is dated February, 1841; the preface to the fifth volume is dated November, 1869.



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slashing critic may almost be said to have mangled rather than emended his author.

Lastly, the text of Apollodorus, supplemented for the first time by the Vatican and Sabbaitic epitomes, was edited with a concise critical apparatus and indices by Mr. Richard Wagner (Teubner, Leipsic, 1894). By means of his extensive collation of manuscripts, and particularly by a comparison of the Vatican and Sabbaitic epitomes, which are clearly independent of our other manuscripts and often contain better readings, Mr. Wagner succeeded in restoring the true text in many places. He has earned the gratitude of all students, not only of Apollodorus but of Greek mythology, by his fortunate discovery of the Vatican epitome and by his careful and judicious recension of the text.

In the present edition the text is based on that of Mr. Wagner, but in doubtful passages I have compared the editions of Heyne, Müller, Westermann, Bekker, and Hercher, and occasionally the older editions of Aegius, Commelinus, and Gale; and I have exercised my own judgment in the selection of the readings. All variations from Mr. Wagner's text are recorded in the footnotes. I have collated no manuscripts, and my references to their readings are, without exception, derived from my predecessors, almost all from the critical apparatus of Mr. Wagner, whose symbols I have used to designate the manuscripts. Conjectural emendations of my own have been very rarely admitted, but in this respect I have  
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allowed myself a somewhat greater latitude in dealing with the text of the *Epitome*, which rests on the authority of only two manuscripts and has not, like the rest of the *Library*, been subjected to the scrutiny of many generations of scholars.

In printing the *Epitome*, or rather that portion of it only which begins where the manuscripts of the unabridged work break off, I have departed from Mr. Wagner's arrangement. He has printed the Vatican and the Sabbaitic versions in full, arranging the two in parallel columns. This arrangement has the advantage of presenting the whole of the manuscript evidence at a glance to the eye of the reader, but it has the disadvantage of frequently compelling him, for the sake of the comparison, to read the same story twice over in words which differ little or not at all from each other. To avoid this repetition, wherever the two versions present us with duplicate accounts of the same story, I have printed only one of them in the text, correcting it, where necessary, by the other and indicating in the footnotes the variations between the two versions. In this way the text of the *Epitome*, like that of the rest of the *Library*, flows in a single stream instead of being diverted in many places into two parallel channels. I venture to believe that this arrangement will prove more convenient to the ordinary reader, while at the same time it will sufficiently meet the requirements of the critical scholar. The differences between the Vatican and the Sabbaitic

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versions are often so slight that it was not always easy to decide which to print in the text and which to relegate to the footnotes. I have endeavoured to give the preference in every case to the fuller and better version, and where the considerations on each side were very evenly balanced, I have generally, I believe, selected the Vatican version, because on the whole its Greek style seems somewhat purer and therefore more likely to correspond with the original.

As the *Library* is no doubt chiefly used as a work of reference by scholars who desire to refresh their memory with the details of a myth or legend or to trace some tale to its source, I have sought to consult their convenience by referring in the notes to the principal passages of other ancient writers where each particular story is told, and have often, though not always, briefly indicated how far Apollodorus agrees with or differs from them. Further, in commenting on my author I have illustrated some points of folk-lore by parallels drawn from other peoples, but I have abstained from discussing at length their origin and significance, because such discussions would be foreign to the scope of the series to which this edition of Apollodorus belongs. For the same reason I have barely alluded to the monumental evidence, which would form an indispensable part of a regular commentary on Apollodorus. Many of the monuments have already been described and discussed by me in my commentary

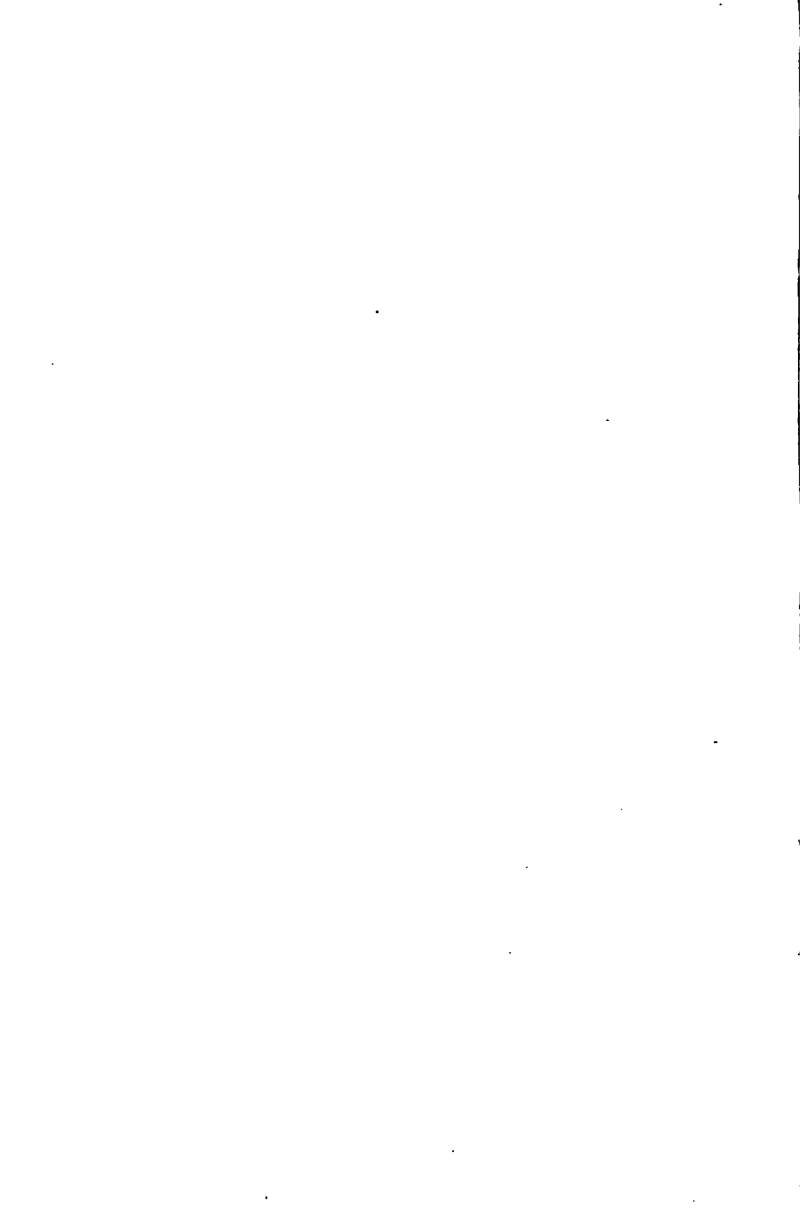
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on Pausanias, and in order to avoid repetition, and to save space, I have allowed myself not infrequently to refer my readers to that work. Even so, I fear I have considerably transgressed the limits usually set to annotation in this series; and I desire to thank the General Editors for the kind indulgence which has permitted and pardoned the transgression.

J. G. FRAZER.

1, BRICK COURT, TEMPLE,  
LONDON.

*5th April, 1921.*



# SUMMARY <sup>1</sup>

## I.—THEOGONY.

*Book I., Chaps. 1.-VI.*

OFFSPRING of Sky and Earth: the Hundred-handed, Cyclopes, Titans, i. 1-3. The Titans attack and mutilate Sky, origin of the Furies, i. 4. The children of Cronus and Rhea, the birth of Zeus, i. 5-7. Zeus conquers the Titans and divides the kingdom with his brothers, ii. 1. Offspring of the Titans, ii. 2-5. Offspring of Sea and Earth, ii. 6-7.

Children of Zeus by Hera, Themis, Dione, Eurynome, Styx and Memory (the Muses), iii. 1. Children of the Muses: Calliope's children Linus and Orpheus, iii. 2, Clio's child Hyacinth (Thamyris), iii. 3, Euterpe's child Rhesus, Thalia's children the Corybantes, Melpomene's children the Sirens, iii. 4. Hephaestus, iii. 5. The birth of Athena, iii. 6. Asteria, Latona, the birth of Artemis and Apollo. Apollo slays the Python, iv. 1, Tityus, iv. 1, and Marsyas, iv. 2. Artemis slays Orion, iv. 3-5.

Children of Poseidon and Amphitrite, iv. 6.

Pluto carries off Persephone. Demeter comes to Eleusis (Triptolemus). Persephone remains with Pluto (Ascalaphus), v.

Battle of the gods and giants, vi. 1-2. Typhon, vi. 3.

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<sup>1</sup> Translated, with some modifications, from the *Argymentum* prefixed to R. Wagner's edition of Apollodorus.

## SUMMARY

### II.—THE FAMILY OF DEUCALION.

*Book I., Chaps. VII.—IX.*

Prometheus creates men, and for the theft of fire is nailed to the Caucasus, vii. 1. Deucalion and Pyrrha saved from the flood, vii. 1-2. Deucalion's children. Hellen's sons Dorus, Xuthus, Aeolus and their children, vii. 2-3.

Aeolus's daughters and their offspring: Perimede, Pisidice, Alcyone, vii. 3-4. Canace (the Aloads), vii. 4. Calyce, Endymion, Aetolus, Pleuron and Calydon and their children (Marpessa), vii. 5-10. Oeneus, grandson of Pleuron, father of Deianira and Meleager, viii. 1-2. The hunting of the Calydonian boar (list of the hunters, viii. 2), death of Meleager, viii. 2-3. Tydeus, son of Oeneus. Death of Oeneus, viii. 4-6.

Aeolus's sons and their offspring: Athamas, father of Phrixus and Helle (the Golden Fleece), ix. 1. The deaths of Athamas and Ino, ix. 2. Sisyphus and his stone, ix. 3. Deion, ix. 4. Perieres, ix. 5. Magnes, ix. 6. Salmoneus and his mock thunder, ix. 7. Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, mother of Neleus and Pelias, ix. 8-10. Cretheus, husband of Tyro. His grandsons Bias and the seer Melampus (the kine of Phylacus), ix. 11-13. Admetus, son of Pheres (son of Cretheus), and husband of Alcestis, ix. 14-15. Jason, son of Aeson (son of Cretheus), sent by Pelias to fetch the Golden Fleece, ix. 16.

*The Argonauts.*—The building of the ship Argo. List of the Argonauts, ix. 16. The Argonauts put in at the island of Lemnos, ix. 17, they kill Cyzicus, king of the Doliones, by mistake, ix. 18, they leave Hercules and Polyphemus in Mysia (Hylas), ix. 19, Pollux conquers Amycus, king of the Bebryces, ix. 20, at Salmydessus they rid Phineus of the Harpies, ix. 21, they pass through the Symplegades, ix. 22, they are received by Lycus, king of the Mariandynians, ix. 23, they arrive in Colchis. Jason, with the help of Medea, tames the bulls,

## SUMMARY

conquers the earth-born men, and carries off the Golden Fleece. The Argonauts set out with Medea (the murder of Apsyrtus), ix. 23-24. As they sail past the Eridanus, Zeus causes them to wander; they are purified for the murder of Apsyrtus by Circe, ix. 24, sailing past the Sirens, Scylla, and Charybdis, they come to the Phaeacians, ix. 25, they dedicate an altar to Radiant Apollo, they destroy Talus, the bronze guardian of the island of Crete, ix. 26. Return of the Argonauts. Death of Pelias, ix. 26-27. Jason and Medea fly to Corinth. Medea murders Glauce, the bride of Jason, and her own children, takes refuge with Aegeus at Athens, has by him a son, Medus, and finally returns to her own country, ix. 28.

### III.—THE FAMILY OF INACHUS (BELUS).

#### *Book II., Chaps. I.-VIII.*

Inachus's sons Aegialeus and Phoroneus, and Phoroneus's children. Argus and Pelasgus. Argus of the many eyes, i. 1. Io's wanderings, i. 2-4. Her great-grandsons Agenor (compare iii. 1-7) and Belus, i. 4.

Belus's offspring: Danaus and Egyptus, i. 4. Marriage of the sons of Egyptus with the daughters of Danaus (list, i. 5), i. 4-5. Nauplius the wrecker, son of Amyone, i. 5.

Acrisius and Proetus, grandsons of Lynceus and Hypermnestra, ii. 1. The daughters of Proetus are cured of their madness by Melampus, ii. 2. Bellerophon kills the Chimaera, iii. 1-2. Danae, daughter of Acrisius, with her infant son Perseus, floats to Seriphos, iv. 1. Perseus, sent by Polydectes, comes to the Phorcides and the nymphs, slays Medusa (birth of Pegasus), iv. 2, frees Andromeda, punishes Polydectes, iv. 3, and returning to his country kills Acrisius accidentally, iv. 4. The family of Perseus. Birth of Eurystheus, grandson of Perseus, iv. 5. War of Electryon, son of



## SUMMARY

Perseus, against the Teleboans. Amphitryon, grandson of Perseus, accidentally kills Electryon, iv. 6. Amphitryon goes with Alcmena to Thebes, kills the Cadmean vixen, and wages war on the Taphians: Pterelaus of the golden hair killed by his daughter, iv. 6-7.

*Hercules*, son of Zeus and Alcmena, kills the serpents sent by Hera, iv. 8. The education of Hercules (Linus), iv. 9. Hercules kills the lion of Cithaeron (the daughters of Thespius), iv. 9-10, conquers the Minyans, marries Megara, receives arms from the gods, iv. 11, goes mad, murders his children, and is sent by Apollo to Eurystheus, iv. 12.

The twelve (ten, see iv. 12 and v. 11) labours of Hercules, v.

1. He strangles the Nemean lion and is entertained by Molochus, v. 1.

2. With Iolaus he destroys the Lernaean hydra and kills the crab, v. 2.

3. He wounds and captures the Cerynitian hind, v. 3.

4. He captures the Erymanthian boar, he kills the Centaurs (Pholus, Chiron), v. 4.

5. He cleanses the stable of Augeas (the testimony of Phyleus), v. 5.

6. He shoots the Stymphalian birds, v. 6.

7. He brings the Cretan bull to Eurystheus, v. 7.

8. He carries off the mares of Diomedes the Thracian (death of Abderus and foundation of Abdera), v. 8.

9. He wins the belt of Hippolyta (the sons of Androgeus in Paros; Mygdon; rescue of Hesione; Sarpedon; Thasos; the sons of Proteus), v. 9.

10. He drives away the kine of Geryon from Erythia (the pillars of Hercules; the golden goblet of the Sun; Ialebion and Dercynus, Eryx, Strymon), v. 10.

11. He brings the apples of the Hesperides from the Hyperboreans to Mycenae (Cycnus, Nereus, Antaeus, Busiris, Emathion, Prometheus, Atlas), v. 11.

12. He carries off Cerberus from the nether world (the Eleusinian mysteries, the Gorgon's ghost, Theseus and Pirithous, Ascalaphus, Menoetes), v. 12.

## SUMMARY

Hercules woos in vain Iole, daughter of Eurytus, and in a fit of madness kills Iphitus, vi. 1-2, fights with Apollo for the Delphic tripod, and serves Omphale for three years (Cecropes, Syleus; the burial of Icarus), vi. 2-3. Along with Telamon he captures Troy (Hesione, Priam), vi. 4. He ravages the island of Cos, vii. 1. He conquers Augeas (Eurytus and Cteatus; foundations at Olympia), vii. 2, captures Pylus, makes war on the Lacedaemonians (Cepheus, Sterope, and the Gorgon's tress), vii. 3, and forces Auge (exposure of Telephus), vii. 4. He marries Deianira (the wrestling with Achelous, the horn of Amalthea), vii. 5, fights for the Calydonians against the Thesprotians (Astyoche, Tlepolemus), sends his sons to Sardinia, kills Eunomus at a feast, sets out with Deianira for Trachis, kills Nessus at the ford, vii. 6, slaughters an ox of Thiodamas, fights for Aegimius against the Lapiths (Coronus, Laogoras), slays Cycnus and Amyntor. He captures Oechalia and carries off Iole; infected by the poisoned robe which he received from Deianira, he burns himself on a pyre on Mount Oeta (Poeas), and ascending to heaven he marries Hebe, vii. 7.

List of the children of Hercules, vii. 8.

*The Heraclids* fly to Ceyx, and then to the Athenians, with whose help they vanquish Eurystheus, viii. 1. They occupy and then abandon Peloponnese. Tlepolemus goes to Rhodes. Through misunderstanding an oracle the Heraclids make a second fruitless attempt to conquer Peloponnese, viii. 2. In the third generation afterwards Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus build ships and again prepare to attack Peloponnese, but having slain a soothsayer they fail in the enterprise, viii. 2-3. Ten years afterwards the Heraclids under the leadership of Oxylus conquer Peloponnese and divide it among themselves by lot, viii. 3-5. The deaths of Temenus and Cresphontes, viii. 5.

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### IV.—THE FAMILY OF AGENOR (EUROPA).

*Book III., Chaps. i. 1—III. 2.*

Agenor's children. Europa is carried off by Zeus; and Phoenix, Cilix, Cadmus, and Thasus, being sent to fetch her back, settle in Phoenicia, Cilicia, Thrace, and Thasos, i. 1. Europa's children: Minos, Sarpedon, Rhadamanthys (Miletus), i. 2. On the death of Asterius, husband of Europa, Minos succeeds to the kingdom of Crete. Inflamed with love for a bull, which Poseidon had sent from the sea, Pasiphae gives birth to the Minotaur, i. 3. Althaemenes, grandson of Minos, settles with his sister Apemosyne in Rhodes, and involuntarily kills his father Catreus, ii. Glaucus, son of Minos, his death and resurrection (the seer Polyidus), iii. 1-2.

### V.—THE FAMILY OF AGENOR (CADMUS).

*Book III., Chaps. iv. 1—VII. 7.*

Cadmus, following a cow, founds Thebes, slays the dragon of Ares, and overcomes the earthborn brothers, iv. 1-2. Children of Cadmus and Harmonia: Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, Polydorus. Semele and Zeus. Birth and upbringing of Dionysus (Athamas, Ino, and Melicertes), iv. 2-3. Actaeon, son of Autonoe, and his dogs, iv. 4. The travels of Dionysus (deaths of Lycurgus and Pentheus, adventure with the pirates), v. 1-3. The end of Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria, v. 4. The offspring of Polydorus: Labdacus, Laius. Lycus and Dirce are slain by Zethus and Amphion, the sons of Antiope by Zeus, v. 5. Niobe and her children, the weeping stone, v. 6. Oedipus, his birth and exposure, his parricide, the riddle of the Sphinx, his incest, his exile and death in Attica, v. 7-9.

*Expedition of the Seven against Thebes*, vi. 1-vii. 1. Polynices, expelled by Eteocles, marries the daughter of Adrastus (Tydeus), vi. 1. Eriphyle, bribed by Polynices

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with the golden necklace, induces Amphiaraus to join in the war, vi. 2. List of the leaders, vi. 3. On the death of Opheltes they institute the Nemean games, vi. 4, they send Tydeus on an embassy to Thebes, vi. 5, attack the city (account of the seer Tiresias, vi. 7), and are defeated by the Thebans (Capaneus, Eteocles and Polynices, Tydeus, Amphiaraus), vi. 6-8. Heroism and death of Antigone. The bodies of the leaders are buried by Theseus, death of Evadne on the pyre, vii. 1.

*The Epigoni* (list, vii. 2) capture Thebes; death of Tiresias, vii. 2-4. Alcmaeon, his matricide, madness, wanderings and death; his wife Callirrhoe, and his children Amphilochus and Tisiphone, vii. 5-7.

### VI.—THE FAMILY OF PELASGUS.

*Book III., Chaps. VIII.—IX.*

Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, and his sons (list viii. 1), except the youngest, Nyctimus, are killed for their impiety by Zeus with thunderbolts, viii. 1-2. Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, mother of Arcas, transformed into a bear, viii. 2. The offspring of Arcas. Auge, mother of Telephus, ix. 1. Atalanta and her suitors, Milanion and the golden apples, ix. 2.

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### VII.—THE FAMILY OF ATLAS.

*Book III., Chaps. x. 1—XII. 6.*

The Pleiades, x. 1. Hermes, son of Maia, his youthful exploits, x. 2. The offspring of Taygete: Lacedaemon, Hyacinth, Lynceus, and Idas. Leucippus's daughters, of whom Arsinoe becomes the mother of Aesculapius (Coronis). Aesculapius is educated by Chiron and thunderstruck by Zeus for his leechcraft. Apollo kills the Cyclopes and serves Admetus for a year, x. 3-4. Children of Hippocoon, of Icarius, and of Tyndareus. Birth of Helen, x. 4-7. Helen is carried off by Theseus, but rescued by Castor and Pollux, x. 7.

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Helen's suitors and marriage with Menelaus, x. 8-9. Menelaus's children, xi. 1. Castor and Pollux, their combat with Idas and Lynceus, their elevation to the gods, and their alternations between the upper and lower worlds, xi. 2.

Electra, daughter of Atlas, her offspring, xii. 1-6. Iasion and Dardanus and his sons Ilus and Erichthonius. Tros, son of Erichthonius, and father of Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede, xii. 1-2. Ilus, following a cow, founds Troy and receives the Palladium. Origin of the Palladium. Laomedon, son of Ilus, father of Tithonus and of Priam, xii. 3. Tithonus and the Dawn. Priam's children: Aesacus, Hector, Paris, Cassandra, and the rest, xii. 4-5. Hector and Andromache. Paris and Oenone, xii. 6.

### VIII.—THE FAMILY OF ASOPUS.

*Book III., Chaps. XII. 6—XIII. 8.*

Asopus's children, Ismenus, Pelagon, and twenty daughters, of whom Aegina is carried off by Zeus, xii. 6. Aeacus, son of Aegina, his righteousness, his prayer for rain; father of Peleus and Telamon, who are banished for the murder of their brother Phocus. Telamon becomes king of Salamis; father of Ajax and Teucer, xii. 6-7. Peleus comes to Phthia; joining in the hunt of the Calydonian boar he accidentally kills Eurytion; is purified by Acastus and maligned by Astydamia, wife of Acastus; hunts on Mount Pelion and is saved from the centaurs by Chiron, xiii. 1-3. Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, xiii. 4-5. The nurture of Achilles (Thetis, Chiron, Lycomedes), xiii. 6-8. Phoenix, Patroclus, xiii. 8.

### IX.—THE KINGS OF ATHENS.

*Book III., Chaps. XIV. 1—XV. 9.*

1. *Cecrops*, earth-born. Contest between Athena and Poseidon for the guardianship of Athens, xiv. 1. Cecrops's

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children Erysichthon, Agraulus, Herse, Pandrosus (Halirrhothius ; trial and acquittal of Ares at the Areopagus), xiv. 2. Cephalus, son of Herse, and ancestor of Cinyras, xiv. 3. Adonis, son of Cinyras, loved by Aphrodite, killed by a boar, xiv. 3-4.

2. *Cranaus*, earth-born, father of Cranae, Cranaechme, and Atthis, xiv. 5.

3. *Amphictyon*, earth-born or son of Deucalion, xiv. 6.

4. *Erichthonius*, son of Hephaestus by Atthis or Athena, dedicates an image of Athena on the Acropolis and institutes the Panathenaic festival, xiv. 6.

5. *Pandion*, son of Erichthonius : in his reign Demeter comes to Celeus at Eleusis, and Dionysus comes to Icarus (death of Erigone), xiv. 7. Pandion's daughters Procne and Philomela (Tereus), xiv. 8.

6. *Erechtheus*, son of Pandion : his priestly brother Butes, his children, xv. 1. Chthonia. Procris and Cephalus (Minos), xv. 1. Orithyia and Boreas, xv. 2. Cleopatra and Phineus, xv. 3. Eumolpus, son of Chione, xv. 4. Erechtheus, in the war with Eleusis, sacrifices one of his daughters, and slays Eumolpus, xv. 4-5.

7. *Cecrops*, son of Erechtheus, xv. 5.

8. *Pandion*, son of Cecrops, is expelled by the sons of Metion and flies to Megara, xv. 5.

9. *Aegeus*, son of Pandion, returns to Athens with his brothers, xv. 5-6, and begets Theseus by Aethra at Troezen, xv. 6-7. He sends Androgeus, son of Minos, against the Marathonian bull, xv. 7. Minos makes war on Megara (Nisus and Scylla) and on Athens, xv. 7-8. Hyacinth's daughters are sacrificed at Athens, xv. 8. Minos imposes on the Athenians a tribute of boys and girls to be sent annually to the Minotaur (the labyrinth built by Daedalus), xv. 8-9.

10. *Theseus*.

### X.—THESEUS.

*Book III., Chap. xvi., Epitome, i. 1-24.*

On growing up Theseus quits Troezen for Athens, kills Periphetes, Sinis, III. xvi., the Crommyonian sow,

## SUMMARY

Sciron, Cercyon, and Damastes, *Epitome*, i. 1-4. Aegeus, instigated by Medea, sends Theseus against the Marathonian bull and offers him a cup of poison, 5-6. Theseus, with the help of Ariadne, conquers the Minotaur, and flying with Ariadne resigns her to Dionysus in Naxos, 7-9, and on the death of Aegeus succeeds to the kingdom of Athens, 10-11. Daedalus and his son Icarus escape from the labyrinth: Icarus falls into the sea, but Daedalus reaches the court of Cocalus, whose daughters kill Minos, 12-15. Theseus marries an Amazon, and afterwards Phaedra. Death of Hippolytus, 16-19. Ixion and his wheel, 20. Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths, 21 (Zenobius). Caeneus, 22. Theseus goes down to hell with Pirithous, but is freed by Hercules, and being expelled from Athens is murdered by Lycomedes, 23-24.

### XI.—THE FAMILY OF PELOPS.

*Epitome*, II. 1-16.

Tantalus in hell, 1. Broteas, 2. Pelops, with the help of Myrtilus, vanquishes Oenomaus, marries Hippodamia, kills Myrtilus, and takes possession of Peloponnese, 3-9. Sons of Pelops: Atreus and Thyestes (the golden lamb, Aerope, backward journey of the sun, the cannibal feast, Aegisthus), 10-14. Agamemnon and Menelaus are brought up by Polyphides and Oeneus, 15 (Tzetzes). Agamemnon marries Clytaemnestra, and Menelaus marries Helen, 16.

### XII.—ANTEHOMERICA.

*Epitome*, III. 1-35.

Zeus resolves to stir up war, 1. The Apple of Discord awarded by Paris to Aphrodite. Paris carries off Helen, and, after tarrying in Phoenicia and Cyprus, returns to Troy, 2-4. Helen left with Proteus in Egypt, 5. Menelaus and Agamemnon summon the kings of Greece to war. Ulysses feigns madness (death of Palamedes). Cinyras sends toy ships. The Wine-growers, 6-10.

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Catalogue of the ships, 11-14. The portent at Aulis, 15. Agamemnon and Achilles chosen leaders, 16. The Mysian war. Telephus wounded by Achilles. Return of the Greeks, 17-18.

In the tenth year after the rape of Helen the Greeks again assemble. Telephus, being healed by Achilles, shows them the way, 19-20. Iphigenia sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis and transported by the goddess to Tauris, 21-22. The Greeks arrive at Tenedos 23. Tenes and his stepmother, 24-25. Tenes killed by Achilles, 26. Philoctetes, stung by a serpent, is marooned in Lemnos, 27. Ulysses and Menelaus demand the restoration of Helen, 28. The Greeks land at Troy and put the Trojans to flight. Death of Protesilaus (Laodamia). Cynus. The Trojans besieged, 29-31. Achilles slays Troilus, captures Lycaon, and having slain Mestor drives off the herds of Aeneas, 32. List of the towns taken by Achilles, 33. In the tenth year the Trojans receive the help of allies (list), 34-35.

### XIII.—THE "ILIAD."

*Epitome*, IV. 1-8.

The wrath of Achilles. The combat of Menelaus and Paris, 1. Diomedes wounds Aphrodite and meets Glaucus in battle. The combat of Ajax and Hector, 2. The Greeks, put to flight, send ambassadors to Achilles, 3. Ulysses and Diomedes slay Dolon, 4. Hector attacks the ships, 5. The death of Patroclus, 6. Achilles receives arms from Thetis, puts the Trojans to flight, and slays Hector. The burial of Patroclus. Priam ransoms the body of Hector, 7-8.

### XIV.—POSTHOMERICA.

*Epitome*, v. 1-25.

Penthesilea slain by Achilles. Thersites (death of Hippolyte), 1-2. Achilles slays Memnon, but is shot by



## SUMMARY

Apollo and Paris, 3. His body and his arms are rescued by Ajax and Ulysses, 4. The burial of Achilles, 5. Competition of Ajax and Ulysses for the arms of Achilles. Death and burial of Ajax, 6-7.

In accordance with a prophecy of Calchas, Ulysses and Diomedes fetch Philoctetes, who shoots Paris, 8. Quarrel between Deiphobus and Helenus for the hand of Helen. By the advice of Calchas, Ulysses captures Helenus on Mount Ida, and Helenus prophesies to the Greeks concerning the fall of Troy, 9-10. By the advice of Helenus, the Greeks fetch the bones of Pelops, and Ulysses and Phoenix bring Neoptolemus from Scyros. Neoptolemus kills Eurypylos, son of Telephus. Ulysses and Diomedes steal the Trojan Palladium, 11-13.

By the advice of Ulysses, Epeus fashions the Wooden Horse, in which the leaders ensconce themselves. The Greeks leave Sinon behind and depart to Tenedos, 14-15. The Trojans drag the Horse into the city, and despite the counsels of Laocoon and Cassandra resolve to dedicate it to Athena, 16-17. The sons of Laocoon killed by serpents, 18. On a signal given by Sinon the Greeks return. Helen comes to the Horse and calls to the Greek leaders (Anticlus), 19. The leaders descend from the Horse and open the gates to the Greeks, 20. The sack of Troy: Priam, Glaucus, Aeneas, Helena, Aethra, Cassandra, 21-22. Division of the spoil: the slaughter of Astyanax and Polyxena, the fortunes of Cassandra, Andromache, and Hecuba (changed into a dog), Laodice swallowed in an earthquake. Trial of Ajax for impiety, 23-25.

### XV.—THE RETURNS.

*Epitome*, VI. 1-30.

Quarrel between Agamemnon and Menelaus concerning the return. Diomedes, Nestor, and Menelaus set out, 1. Amphilocheus, Calchas, Leonteus, Polypoetes, and Podalirius go by land to Colophon, where Calchas is vanquished by Mopsus in a contest of skill and is buried by his companions, 2-4.

## SUMMARY

The fleet of Agamemnon is dispersed by a storm off Tenos. Shipwreck, death, and burial of Ajax, 5-6. Many are shipwrecked and perish through the false lights displayed by Nauplius at Cape Caphereus, 7. Nauplius, the revenge he takes for the death of his son, 8-11. Neoptolemus goes by land to Molossia, and by the way he buries Phoenix. Helenus remains with Deiadamia in Molossia. Neoptolemus, on the death of Peleus, succeeds to the kingdom of Phthia, wrests Hermione from Orestes, and is killed at Delphi, 12-14. Wanderings of the leaders who escaped shipwreck at Cape Caphereus, 15, 15 *abc* (Tzetzes).

The loves of Demophon and Phyllis, 16-17. Podalirius and the oracle, 18. Amphilochous, 19. Virgins sent by the Locrians for a thousand years to Athena at Troy, 20-22.

Agamemnon on his return home is murdered by Aegisthus and Clytaemnestra, 23. Orestes is brought up by Strophius, and with the help of Pylades murders Clytaemnestra and Aegisthus. He is tormented by the Furies, but acquitted at the Areopagus, 24-25. Orestes with the help of Pylades brings back Iphigenia and the image of Artemis from Tauris to Greece, 26-27. The children of Orestes and his death, 28.

After many wanderings Menelaus arrives in Egypt, where he recovers Helen from Proteus, and after eight years returns to Sparta. Dying he is received with Helen into the Elysian fields, 29-30.

### XVI.—THE WANDERINGS OF ULYSSES.

*Epitome*, VII. 1-40.

Ulysses variously said to have roamed over Libya, or Sicily, or the Ocean, or the Tyrrhenian Sea, 1.

Ulysses, after setting sail from Troy, fights with the Cicones, 2. The Lotus-eaters, 3. Adventures with the Cyclops Polyphemus, 4-9. The isle of Aeolus, King of the Winds, 10-11. The cannibal Laestrygones, 12-13.

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The enchantress Circe, 14-16. The descent to the nether world, 17. The Sirens, 18-19. Scylla and Charybdis, 20-21. The oxen of the Sun. The shipwreck. Charybdis, 22-23. The island of Calypso. The raft. Alcinous and the Phaeacians. The return home, 24-25. The suitors of Penelope (list 27-30), 26-31. Eumaeus. Melanthius. Irus, 32. The slaughter of the suitors, 33.

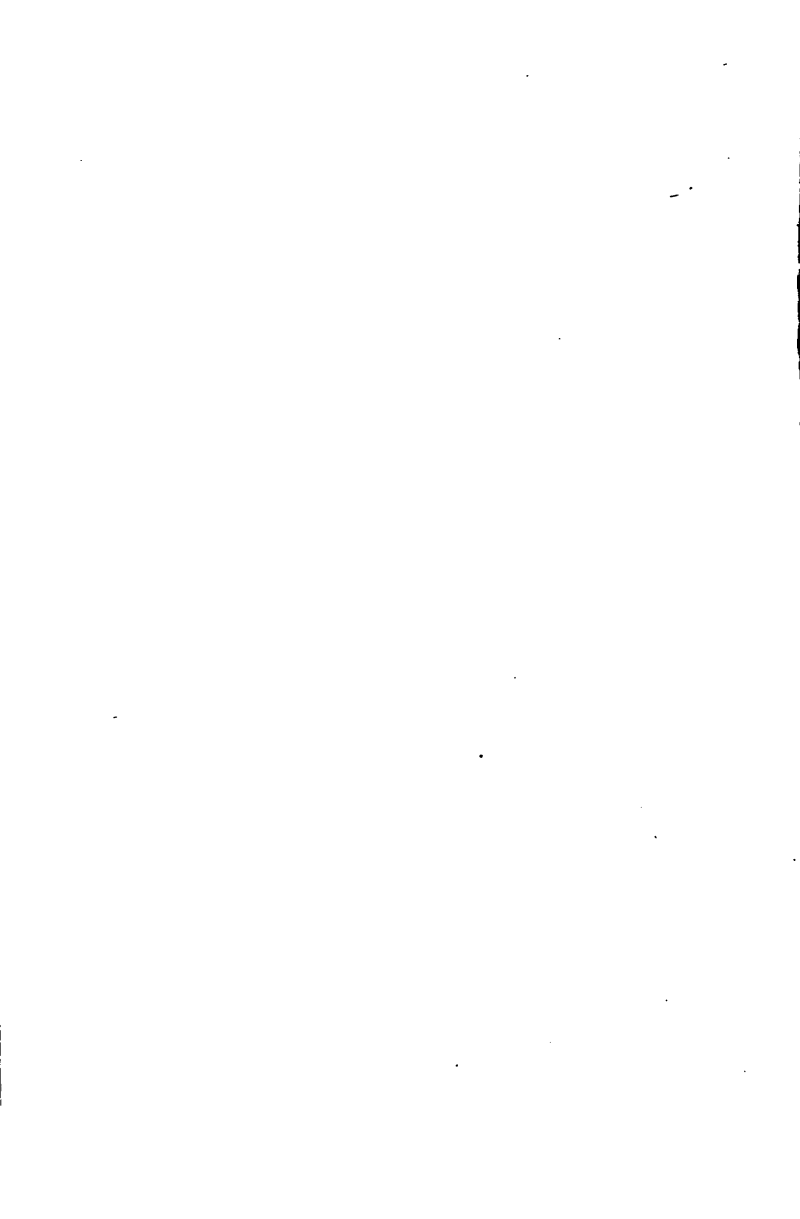
Ulysses in Thesprotia performs the rites enjoined by Tiresias and marries the queen Callidice (Poliporthes), 34-35. Ulysses is killed unwittingly by his son Telegonus. Telegonus takes his father's body and Penelope with him to Circe, who transports them to the Islands of the Blest, 36-37.

Other stories told of Penelope and Ulysses: Penelope said to have been debauched by Antinous and therefore sent back to her father Icarus; at Mantinea she gives birth to Pan, whom she had by Hermes, 38. Amphinomus slain by Ulysses, because he was said to have seduced Penelope, 39. Ulysses, sentenced by Neoptolemus to banishment for the murder of the suitors, emigrates to Aetolia, and having there begotten a son Leontophonus by the daughter of Thoas he dies in old age, 40.

## SYMBOLS EMPLOYED IN THE CRITICAL NOTES

(Adopted from R. Wagner's edition, Leipsic, 1894)

- A = Readings of all or most of the MSS. of *The Library*.  
E = Epitoma Vaticana : Vaticanus 950.  
S = Sabbaitic fragments : Sabbaiticus-Hierosolymitanus 366.  
    R = Parisinus 2722 (the archetype).  
    R<sup>a</sup> = Parisinus 2967.  
    O = Oxford MS. : Laudianus 55.  
    B = Readings of the MSS. PR<sup>b</sup>R<sup>c</sup>.  
        P = Palatinus-Vaticanus 52.  
        R<sup>b</sup> = Parisinus 1653.  
        R<sup>c</sup> = Parisinus 1658.  
    C = Readings of the MSS. VLTN.  
    V = Vaticanus 1017.  
    L = Laurentianus plut. LX. 29.  
    N = Neapolitanus 204 (III. A 1).  
    T = Taurinensis C II. 11.
- [ ] Passages enclosed in these brackets are probably spurious.
- < > Passages enclosed in these brackets are not in the existing manuscripts of Apollodorus, but were probably written by him.



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VOL. I.

B

# ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ

### A

I. Οὐρανὸς πρῶτος τοῦ παντὸς ἐδυνάστευσε  
κόσμον. γῆμας δὲ Γῆν ἐτέκνωσε πρώτους τοὺς  
ἐκατόγχειρας προσαγορευθέντας, Βριάρεων Γύην<sup>1</sup>  
Κόττον, οἳ μεγέθει τε ἀνυπέρβλητοι καὶ δυνάμει  
καθειστήκεσαν, χεῖρας μὲν ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν κεφαλὰς  
2 δὲ ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα ἔχοντες. μετὰ τούτους δὲ

<sup>1</sup> γύην C, schol. Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 795 c.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 126 sqq.), Sky (Uranus) was a son of Earth (Gaia), but afterwards lay with his own mother and had by her Cronus, the giants, the Cyclopes, and so forth. As to the marriage of Sky and Earth, see the fragment of the *Chryseippus* of Euripides, quoted by Sextus Empiricus, p. 751, ed. Bekker (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck,<sup>2</sup> Leipsic, 1889, p. 633); Lucretius i. 250 sq., ii. 991 sqq.; Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 325 sqq. The myth of such a marriage is widespread among the lower races. See E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1873), i. 321 sqq., ii. 270 sqq. For example, the Ewe people of Togo-land, in West Africa, think that the Earth is the wife of the Sky, and that their marriage takes place in the rainy season, when the rain causes the seeds to sprout and bear fruit. These fruits they regard as the children of Mother Earth, who in their opinion is the mother also of men and of gods, see J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 464, 548. In the regions of the Senegal and the Niger it is believed

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### BOOK I

I. Sky was the first who ruled over the whole world.<sup>1</sup> And having wedded Earth, he begat first the Hundred-handed, as they are named: Briareus, Gyes, Cottus, who were unsurpassed in size and might, each of them having a hundred hands and fifty heads.<sup>2</sup> After these, Earth bore him the Cyclopes,

that the Sky-god and the Earth-goddess are the parents of the principal spirits who dispense life and death, weal and woe, among mankind. See Maurice Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger* (Paris, 1912), iii. 173 sqq. Similarly the Manggerai, a people of West Flores, in the Indian Archipelago, personify Sky and Earth as husband and wife; the consummation of their marriage is manifested in the rain, which fertilizes Mother Earth, so that she gives birth to her children, the produce of the fields and the fruits of the trees. The sky is called *langit*; it is the male power: the earth is called *alang*; it is the female power. Together they form a divine couple, called *Moeri Kraéng*. See H. B. Stapel, "Het Manggër-aische Volk (West Flores)," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, lvi. (Batavia and the Hague, 1914), p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 147 sqq. Instead of Gyes, some MSS. of Hesiod read Gyges, and this form of the name is supported by the Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 795 c. Compare Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 593; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 17. 14, iii. 4. 69, with the commentators.



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- αὐτῷ τεκνοῖ Γῆ Κύκλωπας, Ἄργην<sup>1</sup> Στερόπην Βρόντην, ὧν ἕκαστος εἶχεν ἓνα ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν Οὐρανὸς δῆσας εἰς Τάρταρον ἔρριψε (τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἐρεβώδης ἐστὶν ἐν Ἄιδου, τοσοῦτον ἀπὸ γῆς ἔχων διάστημα ὅσον
- 3 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ γῆ), τεκνοῖ δὲ αὖθις ἐκ Γῆς παῖδας μὲν τοὺς Τιτᾶνας προσαγορευθέντας, Ὀκεανὸν Κοῖον Ἵπερίονα Κρείον Ἰαπετὸν καὶ νεώτατον<sup>2</sup> ἀπάντων Κρόνον, θυγατέρας δὲ τὰς κληθείσας Τιτανίδας, Τηθὺν Ῥεάν Θέμιν Μνημοσύνην Φοῖβην Διώνην Θεῖαν.
- 4 Ἄγανακτοῦσα δὲ Γῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν εἰς Τάρταρον ριφέντων<sup>3</sup> παίδων πείθει τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρί, καὶ δίδωσιν ἀδαμαντίνην ἄρπην Κρόνῳ. οἱ δὲ Ὀκεανοῦ χωρὶς ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ Κρόνος ἀποτεμὼν τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν σταλαγμῶν τοῦ ρέοντος αἵματος ἐρινύες ἐγένοντο, Ἄληκτῶ Τισιφόνῃ Μέγαιρα. τῆς δὲ ἀρχῆς ἐκβαλόντες

<sup>1</sup> Ἄργην Heyne : ἄρπην EA.

<sup>2</sup> νεώτατον EOR<sup>a</sup> : γεννεώτατον BT : γενναιότατον VLN.

<sup>3</sup> ριφέντων E : ριφθέντων A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 139 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 617 sqq. and for the description of Tartarus, 717 sqq. According to Hesiod, a brazen anvil would take nine days and nights to fall from heaven to earth, and nine days and nights to fall from earth to Tartarus.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 132 sqq. who agrees in describing Cronus as the youngest of the brood. As Zeus, who succeeded his father Cronus on the heavenly throne, was likewise the youngest of his family (Hesiod, *Theog.* 453 sqq.), we may conjecture that among the ancient Greeks or their ancestors inheritance was at one time regulated by the custom of ultimogeniture or the succession of the youngest, as to which see *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 429 sqq.

to wit, Arges, Steropes, Brontes,<sup>1</sup> of whom each had one eye on his forehead. But them Sky bound and cast into Tartarus, a gloomy place in Hades as far distant from earth as earth is distant from the sky.<sup>2</sup> And again he begat children by Earth, to wit, the Titans as they are named: Ocean, Coeus, Hyperion, Crius, Iapetus, and, youngest of all, Cronus; also daughters, the Titanides as they are called: Tethys, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, Dione, Thia.<sup>3</sup>

But Earth, grieved at the destruction of her children, who had been cast into Tartarus, persuaded the Titans to attack their father and gave Cronus an adamantine sickle. And they, all but Ocean, attacked him, and Cronus cut off his father's genitals and threw them into the sea; and from the drops of the flowing blood were born Furies, to wit, Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera.<sup>4</sup> And, having dethroned their father, they brought up their

In the secluded highlands of Arcadia, where ancient customs and traditions lingered long, King Lycaon is said to have been succeeded by his youngest son. See Apollodorus, iii. 8. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 156-190. Here Apollodorus follows Hesiod, according to whom the Furies sprang, not from the genitals of Sky which were thrown into the sea, but from the drops of his blood which fell on Earth and impregnated her. The sickle with which Cronus did the deed is said to have been flung by him into the sea at Cape Drepanum in Achaia (Pausanias, vii. 23. 4). The barbarous story of the mutilation of the divine father by his divine son shocked the moral sense of later ages. See Plato, *Republic*, ii. pp. 377 E-378 A, *Euthyphro*, pp. 5 E-6 A; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 24. 63 sqq. Andrew Lang interpreted the story with some probability as one of a world-wide class of myths intended to explain the separation of Earth and Sky. See his *Custom and Myth* (London, 1884), pp. 45 sqq.; and as to myths of the forcible separation of Sky and Earth, see E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*<sup>2</sup>, i. 322 sqq.

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τούς τε καταταρταρωθέντας ἀνήγαγον ἀδελφούς  
καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Κρόνῳ παρέδωσαν.

- 5 Ὁ δὲ τούτους μὲν <έν> τῷ Ταρτάρῳ πάλιν  
δήσας καθεῖρξε, τὴν δὲ ἀδελφὴν Ῥέαν γήμας,  
ἐπειδὴ Γῆ τε καὶ Οὐρανὸς ἐθεσπιώδουν αὐτῷ  
λέγοντες ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρεθή-  
σεσθαι, κατέπινε τὰ γεννώμενα. καὶ πρώτην μὲν  
γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑστίαν κατέπιεν, εἶτα Δήμητραν  
καὶ Ἥραν, μεθ' ἧς Πλούτωνα καὶ Ποσειδῶνα.
- 6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν  
εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηρῖκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγ-  
χανε, γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία. καὶ  
τούτον μὲν δίδωσι τρέφεσθαι Κούρησί τε καὶ ταῖς  
Μελισσέως<sup>1</sup> παισὶ νύμφαις, Ἀδραστεία τε καὶ
- 7 Ἴδη. αὐταὶ μὲν οὖν τὸν παῖδα ἔτρεφον τῷ τῆς  
Ἀμαλθείας γάλακτι, οἱ δὲ Κούρητες ἔνοπλοι ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Μελισσέως Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 48 : μελισσέων EA.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 453-467.

<sup>2</sup> According to Hesiod, Rhea gave birth to Zeus in Crete, and the infant god was hidden in a cave of Mount Aegaeum (*Theog.* 468-480). Diodorus Siculus (v. 70) mentions the legend that Zeus was born at Dicte in Crete, and that the god afterwards founded a city on the site. But according to Diodorus, or his authorities, the child was brought up in a cave on Mount Ida. The ancients were not agreed as to whether the infant god had been reared on Mount Ida or Mount Dicte. Apollodorus declares for Dicte, and he is supported by Virgil (*Georg.* iv. 153), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104), and the Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, Cellis, 1834, vol. i. pp. 34, 79, First Vatican Mythographer, 104, Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). On the other hand the claim of Mount Ida is favoured by Callimachus (*Hymn.* i. 51), Ovid (*Fasti.* iv. 207), and Lactantius Placidus (on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784). The strength of tradition on this point is indicated by Apollo-

brethren who had been hurled down to Tartarus, and committed the sovereignty to Cronus.

But he again bound and shut them up in Tartarus, and wedded his sister Rhea; and since both Earth and Sky foretold him that he would be dethroned by his own son, he used to swallow his offspring at birth. His first-born Hestia he swallowed, then Demeter and Hera, and after them Pluto and Poseidon.<sup>1</sup> Enraged at this, Rhea repaired to Crete, when she was big with Zeus, and brought him forth in a cave of Dicte.<sup>2</sup> She gave him to the Curetes and to the nymphs Adrastia and Ida, daughters of Melisseus, to nurse. So these nymphs fed the child on the milk of Amalthea;<sup>3</sup> and the Curetes in arms guarded the

dorus, who while he calls the mountain Dicte, names one of the god's nurses Ida.

<sup>3</sup> As to the nurture of Zeus by the nymphs, see Callimachus, *Hymn* i. 46 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 2 *sq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 111 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). According to Callimachus, Amalthea was a goat. Aratus also reported, if he did not believe, the story that the supreme god had been suckled by a goat (Strabo, viii. 7. 5, p. 387), and this would seem to have been the common opinion (Diodorus Siculus, v. 70. 3; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). According to one account, his nurse Amalthea hung him in his cradle on a tree "in order that he might be found neither in heaven nor on earth nor in the sea" (Hyginus, *Fab.* 139). Melisseus, the father of his nurses Adrastia and Ida, is said to have been a Cretan king (Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13); but his name is probably due to an attempt to rationalize the story that the infant Zeus was fed by bees. See Virgil, *Georg.* i. 149 *sqq.* with the note of Servius on v. 153; First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16.

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τῷ ἄντρῳ τὸ βρέφος φυλάσσοντες τοῖς δόρασι τὰς ἀσπίδας συνέκρουον, ἵνα μὴ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς φωνῆς ὁ Κρόνος ἀκούσῃ. Ῥέα δὲ λίθον σπαργανώσασα δέδωκε Κρόνῳ καταπιεῖν ὡς τὸν γεγεννημένον παῖδα.

II. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐγενήθη<sup>1</sup> τέλειος, λαμβάνει Μῆτιν τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ συνεργόν, ἣ δίδωσι Κρόνῳ καταπιεῖν φάρμακον, ὑφ' οὗ ἐκείνος ἀναγκασθεὶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐξεμεῖ τὸν λίθον, ἔπειτα τοὺς παῖδας οὓς κατέπιε· μεθ' ὧν Ζεὺς τὸν πρὸς Κρόνον καὶ Τιτᾶνας ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἐγενήθη EB: ἐγενήθη R<sup>a</sup>C.

<sup>1</sup> As to the Curetes in their capacity of guardians of the infant Zeus, see Callimachus, *Hymn*, i. 52 *sqq.*; Strabo, x. 3. 11, p. 468; Diodorus Siculus, v. 70, 2-4; Lucretius, ii. 633-639; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 150 *sq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 207 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). The story of the way in which they protected the divine infant from his inhuman parent by clashing their weapons may reflect a real custom, by the observance of which human parents endeavoured to guard their infants against the assaults of demons. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 472 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> As to the trick by which Rhea saved Zeus from the maw of his father Cronus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 485 *sqq.*; Pausanias, viii. 36. 3, ix. 2. 7, ix. 41. 6, x. 24. 6; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 199-206; Hyginus, *Fab.* 139; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 104; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 784; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 34, 79 (First Vatican Mythographer, 104; Second Vatican Mythographer, 16). The very stone which Cronus swallowed and afterwards spewed out was shown at Delphi down to the 11th century of our era; oil was daily poured on it, and on

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babe in the cave, clashing their spears on their shields in order that Cronus might not hear the child's voice.<sup>1</sup> But Rhea wrapped a stone in swaddling clothes and gave it to Cronus to swallow, as if it were the new-born child.<sup>2</sup>

II. But when Zeus was full-grown, he took Metis, daughter of Ocean, to help him, and she gave Cronus a drug to swallow, which forced him to disgorge first the stone and then the children whom he had swallowed,<sup>3</sup> and with their aid Zeus waged the war against Cronus and the Titans.<sup>4</sup> They fought for

festival days unspun wool was laid on it (Pausanias, x. 24. 6). We read that, on the birth of Zeus's elder brother Poseidon, his mother Rhea saved the baby in like manner by giving his father Cronus a foal to swallow, which the deity seems to have found more digestible than the stone, for he is not said to have spat it out again (Pausanias, viii. 8. 2). Phalaris, the notorious tyrant of Agrigentum, dedicated in the sanctuary of Lindian Athena in Rhodes a bowl which was enriched with a relief representing Cronus in the act of receiving his children at the hand of Rhea and swallowing them. An inscription on the bowl set forth that it was a present from the famous artist Daedalus to the Sicilian king Cocalus. These things we learn from a long inscription which was found in recent years at Lindus: it contains an inventory of the treasures preserved in the temple of Athena, together with historical notes upon them. See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912), p. 332 (*Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, Extrait du Bulletin de l'année 1912*, No. 5-6).

<sup>3</sup> As to the disgorging of his offspring by Cronus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 493 *sqq.*, who, however, says nothing about the agency of Metis in administering an emetic, but attributes the stratagem to Earth (Gaia).

<sup>4</sup> As to the war of Zeus on the Titans, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 617 *sqq.*; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 42 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 118.

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ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα ἢ Γῆ τῷ Διὶ ἔχρησε τὴν νίκην, τοὺς καταταρταρωθέντας ἂν ἔχη συμμάχους· ὁ δὲ τὴν φρουροῦσαν αὐτῶν τὰ δεσμὰ Κάμπην ἀποκτείνας ἔλυσε. καὶ Κύκλωπες τότε Διὶ μὲν διδῶσι βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλούτωνι δὲ κυνέην,<sup>1</sup> Ποσειδῶνι δὲ τρίαιναν· οἱ δὲ τούτοις ὀπλισθέντες κρατοῦσι Τιτάνων, καὶ καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ τοὺς ἐκατόγχειρας κατέστησαν<sup>2</sup> φύλακας. αὐτοὶ δὲ διακληροῦνται περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ λαγχάνει Ζεὺς μὲν τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ δυναστείαν, Ποσειδῶν δὲ τὴν ἐν θαλάσῃ, Πλούτων δὲ τὴν ἐν "Αἴδου.

- 2 Ἐγένοντο δὲ Τιτάνων ἔκγονοι Ὠκεανοῦ μὲν καὶ Τηθύος Ὠκεανίδες,<sup>3</sup> Ἀσία Στύξ Ἡλέκτρα Δωρις

<sup>1</sup> κυνέην E: κυανέην A.

<sup>2</sup> κατέστησαν E: καθίστασαν A, καθιστᾶσι Bekker. See R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> The MSS. add τρισχίλιοι (A) or τρισχίλιοι (E). The word seems to have been interpolated from Hesiod, *Theog.* 364.

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<sup>1</sup> The most ancient oracle at Delphi was said to be that of Earth; in her office of prophetess the goddess was there succeeded by Themis, who was afterwards displaced by Apollo. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 sqq.; Pausanias, x. 5. 5 sq. It is said that of old there was an oracle of Earth at Olympia, but it no longer existed in the second century of our era. See Pausanias, v. 14. 10. At Aegira in Achaia the oracles of Earth were delivered in a subterranean cave by a priestess, who had previously drunk bull's blood as a means of inspiration. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 147; compare Pausanias, vii. 25. 13. In the later days of antiquity the oracle of Earth at Delphi was explained by some philosophers on rationalistic principles: they supposed that the priestess was thrown into the prophetic trance by natural exhalations from the ground, and they explained the decadence of the

ten years, and Earth prophesied victory<sup>1</sup> to Zeus if he should have as allies those who had been hurled down to Tartarus. So he slew their gaoleress Campe, and loosed their bonds. And the Cyclopes then gave Zeus thunder and lightning and a thunderbolt,<sup>2</sup> and on Pluto they bestowed a helmet and on Poseidon a trident. Armed with these weapons the gods overcame the Titans, shut them up in Tartarus, and appointed the Hundred-handers their guards;<sup>3</sup> but they themselves cast lots for the sovereignty, and to Zeus was allotted the dominion of the sky, to Poseidon the dominion of the sea, and to Pluto the dominion in Hades.<sup>4</sup>

Now to the Titans were born offspring: to Ocean and Tethys were born Oceanids, to wit, Asia, Styx,

oracle in their own time by the gradual cessation of the exhalations. The theory is scouted by Cicero. See Plutarch, *De defectu oraculorum*, 40 sqq.; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 19. 38, i. 36. 79, ii. 57. 117. A similar theory is still held by wizards in Loango, on the west coast of Africa; hence in order to receive the inspiration they descend into an artificial pit or natural hollow and remain there for some time, absorbing the blessed influence, just as the Greek priestesses for a similar purpose descended into the oracular caverns at Aegira and Delphi. See *Die Loango Expedition*, iii. 2, von Dr. E. Pechuël-Loesche (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 441. As to the oracular cavern at Delphi and the inspiring exhalations which were supposed to emanate from it, see Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 26; Strabo, ix. 3. 5, p. 419; Pausanias, x. 5. 7; Justin, xxiv. 6. 6-9. That the Pythian priestess descended into the cavern to give the oracles appears from an expression of Plutarch (*De defectu oraculorum*, 51, κατέβη μὲν εἰς τὸ μαρτεῖον). As to the oracles of Earth in antiquity, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 251 sqq.; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, iii. 8 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 501-506.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 717 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 187 sqq.; Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 523A.



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- Εὐρονόμη [Ἀμφιτρίτη] Μῆτις, Κοίου δὲ καὶ  
 Φοίβης Ἀστερία καὶ Λητώ, Ὑπερίωνος δὲ καὶ  
 Θείας Ἡὼς Ἥλιος Σελήνη, Κρείου δὲ καὶ Εὐρυ-  
 βίας τῆς Πόντου Ἀστραῖος Πάλλας Πέρσης,  
 3 Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀσίας<sup>1</sup> Ἄτλας, ὃς ἔχει τοῖς  
 ὤμοις τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπι-  
 μηθεὺς καὶ Μενoitios, ὃν κεραυνώσας ἐν τῇ  
 4 τιτανομαχίᾳ Ζεὺς κατεταρτάρωσεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ  
 Κρόνου καὶ Φιλύρας Χείρων διφυῆς Κένταυρος,  
 Ἡοῦς δὲ καὶ Ἀστραίου ἄνεμοι καὶ ἄστρα, Πέρσου  
 δὲ καὶ Ἀστερίας Ἐκάτη, Πάλλαντος δὲ καὶ  
 5 Στυγὸς<sup>1</sup> Νίκη Κράτος Ζῆλος Βία. τὸ δὲ τῆς  
 Στυγὸς ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας ἐν Ἄιδου ῥέον Ζεὺς  
 ἐποίησεν ὄρκον, ταύτην αὐτῇ τιμὴν διδοὺς ἀνθ'  
 ὧν αὐτῷ κατὰ Τιτάνων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων συνε-  
 μάχησε.  
 6 Πόντου δὲ καὶ Γῆς Φόρκος<sup>2</sup> Θαύμας Νηρεὺς

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. add τῶν Ὀκεανοῦ, which Heyne, Westermann Müller, and Bekker alter into τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Φόρκος Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, (compare ii. 4. 2): Φόρκος A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 346-366, who mentions all the Oceanids named by Apollodorus except Amphitrite, who was a Nereid. See Apollodorus, i. 2. 7; Hesiod, *Theog.* 243.

<sup>2</sup> As to the offspring of Coeus and Phoebe, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 404 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> As to the offspring of Hyperion and Thia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 371 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> As to the offspring of Crius and Eurybia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 375 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> As to the offspring of Iapetus and Asia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 507-520.

<sup>6</sup> It is said that Cronus assumed the shape of a horse when he consorted with Philyra, and that, we are told, was why

Electra, Doris, Eurynome, Amphitrite, and Metis; <sup>1</sup> to Coeus and Phoebe were born Asteria and Latoona; <sup>2</sup> to Hyperion and Thia were born Dawn, Sun, and Moon; <sup>3</sup> to Crius and Eurybia, daughter of Sea (Pontus), were born Astraeus, Pallas, and Perses; <sup>4</sup> to Iapetus and Asia was born Atlas, who has the sky on his shoulders, and Prometheus, and Epimetheus, and Menoetius, he whom Zeus in the battle with the Titans smote with a thunderbolt and hurled down to Tartarus. <sup>5</sup> And to Cronus and Philyra was born Chiron, a centaur of double form; <sup>6</sup> and to Dawn and Astraeus were born winds and stars; <sup>7</sup> to Perses and Asteria was born Hecate; <sup>8</sup> and to Pallas and Styx were born Victory, Dominion, Emulation, and Violence. <sup>9</sup> But Zeus caused oaths to be sworn by the water of Styx, which flows from a rock in Hades, bestowing this honour on her because she and her children had fought on his side against the Titans. <sup>10</sup>

And to Sea (Pontus) and Earth were born Phorcus, Chiron was born a centaur, half-man, half-horse. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 554.

<sup>7</sup> As to the offspring of Dawn and Astraeus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 378 *sqq.*

<sup>8</sup> As to this parentage of Hecate, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 409 *sqq.* But the ancients were not agreed on the subject. See the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 467. He tells us that according to the Orphic hymns, Hecate was a daughter of Deo; according to Bacchylides, a daughter of Night; according to Musaeus, a daughter of Zeus and Asteria; and according to Pherecydes, a daughter of Aristæus.

<sup>9</sup> For this brood of abstractions, the offspring of Styx and Pallas, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 383 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

<sup>10</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 389-403. As to the oath by the water of Styx, see further Hesiod, *Theog.* 775 *sqq.*; compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 37 *sq.*, *Od.* v. 186 *sq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 86 *sq.*

## APOLLODORUS

Εὐρυβία Κητώ. Θαύμαντος μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἡλέκτρας<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἴρις καὶ ἄρπυιαι, Ἀελλῶ <καὶ> Ὀκυπέτη, Φόρκου  
 δὲ καὶ Κητοῦς Φορκίδες <καὶ> Γοργόνες, περὶ ὧν  
 7 ἐροῦμεν ὅταν τὰ κατὰ Περσέα λέγωμεν, Νηρέως δὲ  
 καὶ Δωρίδος<sup>1</sup> Νηρηίδες, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα Κυμοθόη  
 Σπειῶ Γλαυκονόμη Ναυσιθόη Ἀλίη, Ἐρατὴ Σαῶ  
 Ἀμφιτρίτη Εὐνίκη Θέτις, Εὐλιμένη Ἀγαύη Εὐ-  
 δώρη Δωτῶ Φέρουσα, Γαλάτεια Ἀκταίη Ποντομέ-  
 δουσα Ἴπποθόη Λυσιάνασσα, Κυμῶ Ἡϊόνη Ἀλι-  
 μήδη Πληξαύρη Εὐκράντη, Πρωτὴ Καλυψὼ  
 Πανόπη Κραντὴ Νεόμηρις, Ἴππονόη Ἴανειρα  
 Πολυνόμη Αὐτονόη Μελίτη,<sup>2</sup> Διώνη Νησαίη Δηρῶ  
 Εὐαγόρη Ψαμάθη, Εὐμόλπη Ἴόνη Δυναμένη Κητῶ  
 Λιμνώρεια.

III. Ζεὺς δὲ γαμεί μὲν Ἥραν, καὶ τεκνοῖ  
 Ἡβην Εἰλείθυιαν Ἄρην,<sup>3</sup> μίγνυται δὲ πολλαῖς  
 θνηταῖς τε καὶ ἀθανάτοις γυναιξίν. ἐκ μὲν οὖν  
 Θέμιδος τῆς<sup>4</sup> Οὐρανοῦ γεννᾷ θυγατέρας ὥρας,  
 Εἰρήνην Εὐνομίαν Δίκην, μοίρας, Κλωθὴ Λάχεσιν  
 Ἀτροπον, ἐκ Διώνης δὲ Ἀφροδίτην, ἐξ Εὐρυνόμης

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. add τῶν Ὀκεανοῦ, which Heyne, Westermann, Müller, and Bekker alter into τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ.

<sup>2</sup> Μελίτη Heyne, comparing Hesiod, *Theog.* 246, Homer, *Il.* xviii. 42, etc.: Μελίη A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄρην Gale: ἄργην R: ἀργῆν E: ἀργην B.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς E: τοῦ A.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the offspring of Sea (Pontus, conceived as masculine) and Earth (conceived as feminine), see Hesiod, *Theog.* 233 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 28, ed. Bunte.

<sup>2</sup> As to the offspring of Thaumás and Electra, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 265 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> As to the parentage of the Phorcids and Gorgons, see

Thaumas, Nereus, Eurybia, and Ceto.<sup>1</sup> Now to Thaumas and Electra were born Iris and the Harpies, Aello and Ocypete;<sup>2</sup> and to Phorcus and Ceto were born the Phorcids and Gorgons,<sup>3</sup> of whom we shall speak when we treat of Perseus. To Nereus and Doris were born the Nereids,<sup>4</sup> whose names are Cymothoe, Spio, Glauconome, Nausithoe, Halie, Erato, Sao, Amphitrite, Eunice, Thetis, Eulimene, Agave, Eudore, Doto, Pherusa, Galatea, Actaea, Pontomedusa, Hippothoe, Lysianassa, Cymo, Eione, Halimede, Plexaure, Eucrante, Proto, Calypso, Panope, Cranto, Neomeris, Hipponoe, Ianira, Polynome, Autonoe, Melite, Dione, Nesaea, Dero, Evagore, Psamathe, Eumolpe, Ione, Dynamene, Ceto, and Limnoria.

III. Now Zeus wedded Hera and begat Hebe, Ilithyia, and Ares,<sup>5</sup> but he had intercourse with many women, both mortals and immortals. By Themis, daughter of Sky, he had daughters, the Seasons, to wit, Peace, Order, and Justice; also the Fates, to wit, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropus;<sup>6</sup> by Dione he had

Hesiod, *Theog.* 270 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 29, ed. Bunte. As to the monsters themselves, see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> For lists of Nereids, see Homer, *Il.* xviii. 38-49; Hesiod, *Theog.* 240-264; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 417-423; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 334-344; Hyginus, *Fab.* pp. 28 *sq.*, ed. Bunte.

<sup>5</sup> As to the offspring of Zeus and Hera, see Homer *Il.* v. 889 *sqq.* (Ares), xi 270 *sq.* (Ilithyia), *Od.* xi. 603 *sq.* (Hebe); Hesiod, *Theog.* 921 *sqq.* According to Hesiod, Hera was the last consort whom Zeus took to himself; his first wife was Metis, and his second Themis (*Theog.* 886, 901, 921).

<sup>6</sup> For the daughters of Zeus and Themis, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 901 *sqq.*

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δὲ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ χάριτας, Ἀγλατὴν Εὐφροσύνην Θάλειαν, ἐκ δὲ Στυγὸς Περσεφόνην, ἐκ δὲ Μνημοσύνης μούσας, πρῶτην μὲν Καλλιόπην, εἶτα Κλειῶ Μελπομένην Εὐτέρπην Ἐρατὴν Τερψιχόρην Οὐρανίαν Θάλειαν Πολυμνίαν.

- 2 Καλλιόπης μὲν οὖν καὶ Οἰάγρου, κατ' ἐπίκλησιν δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος, Λίνος, ὃν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ὁ ἀσκήσας κιθαρωδίαν, ὃς ἄδων ἐκίνει λίθους τε καὶ δένδρα. ἀποθανούσης δὲ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, δηχθείσης ὑπὸ ὄφρεως, κατῆλθεν εἰς Ἄιδου θέλων ἀνάγειν<sup>1</sup> αὐτήν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνάγειν Heysne: ἀγαγεῖν A.

<sup>1</sup> As to Dione, mother of Aphrodite, see Homer, *Il.* v. 370 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Helena*, 1098; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte. Hesiod represents Aphrodite as born of the sea-foam which gathered round the severed genitals of Sky (Uranus). See Hesiod, *Theog.* 188 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> As to the parentage of the Graces, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 907 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 35. 5; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

<sup>3</sup> According to the usual account, the mother of Persephone was not Styx but Demeter. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 912 *sq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 1 *sqq.*; Pausanias, viii. 37. 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* p. 30, ed. Bunte.

<sup>4</sup> As to the names and parentage of the Muses, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 75 *sqq.*, 915 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Accounts differ as to the parentage of Linus. According to one, he was a son of Apollo by the Muse Urania (Hyginus, *Fab.* 161); according to another, he was a son of Apollo by Psamathe, daughter of Crotopus (Pausanias, ii. 19. 8); according to another, he was a son of Apollo by Aethusa, daughter of Poseidon (*Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, p. 570, ed. Evelyn-White, *Loeb Classical Library*); according to another, he was a son of Magnes by the Muse Clio (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831).

<sup>6</sup> That Orpheus was a son of Oeagrus by the Muse Calliope is affirmed also by Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 23 *sqq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 831

Aphrodite;<sup>1</sup> by Eurynome, daughter of Ocean, he had the Graces, to wit, Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia;<sup>2</sup> by Styx he had Persephone;<sup>3</sup> and by Memory (Mnemosyne) he had the Muses, first Calliope, then Clio, Melpomene, Euterpe, Erato, Terpsichore, Urania, Thalia, and Polymnia.<sup>4</sup>

Now Calliope bore to Oeagrus or, nominally, to Apollo, a son Linus,<sup>5</sup> whom Hercules slew; and another son, Orpheus,<sup>6</sup> who practised minstrelsy and by his songs moved stones and trees. And when his wife Eurydice died, bitten by a snake, he went down to Hades, being fain to bring her up,<sup>7</sup> and he

the author of *The Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, p. 570, ed. Evelyn-White; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 26, 90). The same view was held by Asclepiades, but some said that his mother was the Muse Polymnia (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 23). Pausanias roundly denied that the musician's mother was the Muse Calliope (ix. 30. 4). That his father was Oeagrus is mentioned also by Plato (*Sympos.* p. 179 D), Diodorus Siculus (iv. 25. 2), and Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* 7, p. 63, ed. Potter). As to the power of Orpheus to move stones and trees by his singing, see Euripides, *Bacchae*, 561 sqq.; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 26 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 2; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 24; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Horace, *Odes*, i. 12. 7 sqq.; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1036 sqq.; *id.*, *Hercules Furens*, 572 sq.

<sup>7</sup> As to the descent of Orpheus to hell to fetch up Eurydice, compare Pausanias, ix. 30. 6; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 454 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 8 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 164; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 569 sqq.; *id.* *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1061 sqq.; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* viii. 59 and 60; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 26 sq., 90 (First Vatican Mythographer, 76; Second Vatican Mythographer, 44). That Eurydice was killed by the bite of a snake on which she had accidentally trodden is mentioned by Virgil, Ovid, Hyginus, and the Vatican Mythographers.

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καὶ Πλούτωνα ἔπεισεν ἀναπέμψαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο τοῦτο ποιήσειν, ἂν μὴ πορευόμενος Ὀρφεὺς ἐπιστραφῆ πρὶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ παραγενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἀπιστῶν ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐθεάσατο τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ δὲ πάλιν ὑπέστρεψεν. εὔρε δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μυστήρια, καὶ τέθραπται περὶ τὴν Πιερίαν διασπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν μαινάδων.

3 Κλειῶ δὲ Πιέρου τοῦ Μάγνητος ἠράσθη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (ὠνείδισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὸν τοῦ Ἀδωνίδος ἔρωτα), συνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἕξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Ἰάκινθον, οὗ Θάμυρις ὁ Φιλάμμωνος καὶ Ἀργιόπης νύμφης ἔσχεν<sup>1</sup> ἔρωτα, πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων. ἀλλ' Ἰάκινθον μὲν ὕστερον Ἀπόλλων ἐρώμενον ὄντα δίσκω

<sup>1</sup> ἔσχεν EA: ἴσχει Hercher, Wagner. But ἔχειν ἔρωτα is good Greek. See Herodotus, v. 32; Apollodorus, *Epit.* ii. 6. On the other hand Apollodorus has ἴσχειν ἔρωτα elsewhere (i. 9. 8, i. 9. 23, ii. 3. 1, iii. 14. 4).

<sup>1</sup> On Orpheus as a founder of mysteries, compare Euripides, *Rhesus*, 943 sq.; Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1032; Plato, *Protagoras*, p. 369 D; *id. Republic*, ii. 7, pp. 365 E-366 A; Demosthenes, *Or.* xxv. 11, p. 772; Diodorus Siculus, i. 23, i. 96. 2-6, iii. 65. 6, iv. 25. 3, v. 77. 3; Pausanias, ii. 30. 2, ix. 30. 4, x. 7. 2; Plutarch, *Frag.* 84 (Plutarch, Didot ed. vol. v. p. 55). According to Diodorus Siculus (i. 23), the mysteries of Dionysus which Orpheus instituted in Greece were copied by him from the Egyptian mysteries of Osiris. The view that the mysteries of Dionysus were based on those of Osiris has been maintained in recent years by the very able and learned French scholar, Monsieur Paul Foucart. See his treatise, *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904), pp. 8 sqq.; *id. Les mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), pp. 1 sqq., 445 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the death of Orpheus at the hands of the Maenads or the Thracian women, see Pausanias, ix. 30. 5; Conon, *Narrat.* 45; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 24; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 520 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 1 sqq. Usually the women are

persuaded Pluto to send her up. The god promised to do so, if on the way Orpheus would not turn round until he should be come to his own house. But he disobeyed and turning round beheld his wife; so she turned back. Orpheus also invented the mysteries of Dionysus,<sup>1</sup> and having been torn in pieces by the Maenads<sup>2</sup> he is buried in Pieria. Clio fell in love with Pierus, son of Magnes, in consequence of the wrath of Aphrodite, whom she had twitted with her love of Adonis; and having met him she bore him a son Hyacinth, for whom Thamyris, the son of Philammon and a nymph Argiope, conceived a passion, he being the first to become enamoured of males. But afterwards Apollo loved Hyacinth and killed him involuntarily by the cast of a quoit.<sup>3</sup> And

said to have been offended by the widower's constancy to the memory of his late wife, and by his indifference to their charms and endearments. But Eratosthenes, or rather the writer who took that name, puts a different complexion on the story. He says that Orpheus did not honour Dionysus, but esteemed the sun the greatest of the gods, and used to rise very early every day in order to see the sunrise from the top of Mount Pangaeum. This angered Dionysus, and he stirred up the Bassarids or Bacchanals to rend the bard limb from limb. Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject called the *Bassarids* or *Bassarae*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup> (Leipsic, 1889), pp. 9 sq.

<sup>3</sup> As to the death of Hyacinth, killed by the cast of Apollo's quoit, see Nicander, *Ther.* 901 sqq.; Pausanias, iii. 19. 4 sq.; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, xiv.; Philostratus, *Imag.* i. 23 (24); Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 47; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 162 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iii. 63; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 223; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 37, 135 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 117; Second Vatican Mythographer, 181). The usual story ran that Apollo and the West Wind, or, according to others, the North Wind, were rivals for the affection of Hyacinth; that Hyacinth preferred Apollo, and that the



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- βαλὼν ἄκων ἀπέκτεινε, Θάμυρις δὲ κάλλει διενεγκὼν καὶ κιθαρῳδίᾳ περὶ μουσικῆς ἤρισε μούσαις, συνθέμενος, ἂν μὲν κρείττων εὐρεθῆ, πλησιάσειν πάσαις, εἰ δὲ ἡττηθῆ, στερηθήσεται οὐδ' ἂν ἐκείναι θέλωσι. καθυπέρτεραι δὲ αἱ μοῦσαι γινόμεναι καὶ τῶν ὀμμάτων αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς κιθαρῳδίας ἐστέρησαν. <sup>4</sup> Εὐτέρπης δὲ καὶ ποταμοῦ Στρυμόνος Ῥῆσος, ὃν ἐν Τροίᾳ Διομήδης ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι, Καλλιόπης ὑπῆρχεν. Θαλείας δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐγένοντο Κορύβαντες, Μελπομένης δὲ καὶ Ἀχελώου Σειρήνες, περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ὀδυσσεύως ἐροῦμεν.
- <sup>5</sup> "Ἡρα δὲ χωρὶς εὐνῆς ἐγέννησεν "Ἡφαιστον ὡς δὲ Ὀμηρος λέγει, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ Διὸς ἐγέννησε.

jealous West Wind took his revenge by blowing a blast which diverted the quoit thrown by Apollo, so that it struck Hyacinth on the head and killed him. From the blood of the slain youth sprang the hyacinth, inscribed with letters which commemorated his tragic death ; though the ancients were not at one in the reading of them. Some, like Ovid, read in them the exclamation ΑΙ ΑΙ, that is, "Alas, alas !" Others, like the Second Vatican Mythographer, fancied that they could detect in the dark lines of the flower the first Greek letter (Τ) of Hyacinth's name.

<sup>1</sup> This account of Thamyris and his contest with the Muses is repeated almost verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 27, and by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 595. As to the bard's rivalry with the Muses, and the blindness they inflicted on him, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 594-600 ; compare Euripides, *Rhesus*, 915 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 60 (First Vatican Mythographer, 197). The story of the punishment of Thamyris in hell was told in the epic poem *The Minyad*, attributed to Prodicus the Phocæan (Pausanias, iv. 33. 7). In the great picture of the underworld painted by Polygnotus at Delphi, the blind musician was portrayed sitting with long flowing locks and a broken lyre at his feet (Pausanias, x. 30. 8).

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Thamyris, who excelled in beauty and in minstrelsy engaged in a musical contest with the Muses, the agreement being that, if he won, he should enjoy them all, but that if he should be vanquished he should be bereft of what they would. So the Muses got the better of him and bereft him both of his eyes and of his minstrelsy.<sup>1</sup> Euterpe had by the river Strymon a son Rhesus, whom Diomedes slew at Troy;<sup>2</sup> but some say his mother was Calliope. Thalia had by Apollo the Corybantes;<sup>3</sup> and Melpomene had by Achelous the Sirens, of whom we shall speak in treating of Ulysses.<sup>4</sup>

Hera gave birth to Hephaestus without intercourse with the other sex,<sup>5</sup> but according to Homer he was

<sup>1</sup> As to the death of Rhesus, see Homer, *Il.* x. 474 *sqq.*; compare Conon, *Narrat.* 4. It is the subject of Euripides's tragedy *Rhesus*; see particularly verses 756 *sqq.* Euripides represents Rhesus as a son of the river Strymon by one of the Muses (*vv.* 279, 915 *sqq.*), but he does not name the particular Muse who bore him.

<sup>2</sup> Very discrepant accounts were given of the parentage of the Corybantes. Some said that they were sons of the Sun by Athena; others that their parents were Zeus and the Muse Calliope; others that their father was Cronus. See Strabo, x. 3. 19, p. 472. According to another account, their mother was the Mother of the Gods, who settled them in Samothrace, or the Holy Isle, as the name Samothrace was believed to signify. The name of the father of the Corybantes was kept a secret from the profane vulgar, but was revealed to the initiated at the Samothracian mysteries. See Diodorus Siculus, iii. 55. 8 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> As to the Sirens, see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, vii. 18 *sq.* Elsewhere (i. 7. 10) Apollodorus mentions the view that the mother of the Sirens was Sterope.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 927 *sq.*; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 6. So Juno is said to have conceived Mars by the help of the goddess Flora and without intercourse with Jupiter (Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 229 *sq.*). The belief in the possible impregnation

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ρίπτει δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ Ζεὺς Ἥρα δεθείσῃ  
βοηθούντα· ταύτην γὰρ ἐκρέμασε<sup>1</sup> Ζεὺς ἐξ Ὀλύμ-  
που χειμῶνα ἐπιπέμψασαν Ἡρακλεῖ, ὅτε Τροίαν  
ἐλὼν ἐπλεῖ. πεσόντα δ' Ἡφαιστον ἐν Λήμνῳ καὶ  
πῆρωθέντα τὰς βάσεις διέτρωσε Θέτις.

6 Μίγνυται δὲ Ζεὺς Μῆτιδι,<sup>2</sup> μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς  
πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν  
γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει φθάσας, ἐπεὶ περ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκρέμασε E: ἐκκρεμάσασα RB, ἐξεκρέμασε C.

<sup>2</sup> Μῆτιδι E, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D: Θέτιδι A.

of women without sexual intercourse appears to have been common, if not universal, among men at a certain stage of social evolution, and it is still held by many savages. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 92 sqq.; *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 204, notes; A. et G. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. (Paris, 1914), pp. 245 sq. The subject is fully discussed by Mr. E. S. Hartland in his *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909-1910).

<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Il.* i. 571 sq., 577 sq. In these lines Hephaestus plainly recognizes Hera as his mother, but it is not equally clear that he recognizes Zeus as his father; the epithet "father" which he applies to him may refer to the god's general paternity in relation to gods and men.

<sup>2</sup> See Homer, *Il.* i. 590 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See Homer, *Il.* xv. 18 sqq., where Zeus is said to have tied two anvils to the feet of Hera when he hung her out of heaven. Compare Apollodorus, ii. 7. 1; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci* (Brunswick, 1843), Appendix Narrationum, xxix. 1, pp. 371 sq.

<sup>4</sup> The significance of lameness in myth and ritual is obscure. The Yorubas of West Africa say that Shankpanna, the god of small-pox, is lame and limps along with the aid of a stick, one of his legs being withered. See (Sir) A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), p. 73. The Ekoi of Southern Nigeria relate how the first fire on earth was stolen from heaven by a boy, whom the Creator (Obassi Osaw) punished with lameness for the theft.

one of her children by Zeus.<sup>1</sup> Him Zeus cast out of heaven, because he came to the rescue of Hera in her bonds.<sup>2</sup> For when Hercules had taken Troy and was at sea, Hera sent a storm after him; so Zeus hung her from Olympus.<sup>3</sup> Hephaestus fell on Lemnos and was lamed of his legs,<sup>4</sup> but Thetis saved him.<sup>5</sup>

Zeus had intercourse with Metis, who turned into many shapes in order to avoid his embraces. When she was with child, Zeus, taking time by the forelock

See P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush* (London, 1912), pp. 370 *sq.* This lame boy seems to play the part of a good fairy in Ekoi tales, and he is occasionally represented in a "stilt play" by an actor who has a short stilt bound round his right leg and limps like a cripple. See P. Amaury Talbot, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 285. Among the Edo of Benin "custom enjoined that once a year a lame man should be dragged around the city, and then as far as a place on the Enyai road, called Adaneha. This was probably a ceremony of purification." See W. N. Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria*, Part I. (London, 1910), p. 35. In a race called "the King's Race," which used to be run by lads on Good Friday or Easter Saturday in some parts of the Mark of Brandenburg, the winner was called "the King," and the last to come in was called "the Lame Carpenter." One of the Carpenter's legs was bandaged with splints as if it were broken, and he had to hobble along on a crutch. Thus he was led from house to house by his comrades, who collected eggs to bake a cake. See A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen* (Berlin, 1843), pp. 323 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> As to the fall of Hephaestus on Lemnos, see Homer, *Il.* i. 590 *sqq.*; Lucian, *De sacrificiis*, 6. The association of the fire-god with Lemnos is supposed to have been suggested by a volcano called Moschylus, which has disappeared—perhaps submerged in the sea. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean*, pp. 269 *sqq.*; R. C. Jebb on Sophocles, *Philoctetes*, 800, with the Appendix, pp. 243-245. According to another account, Hephaestus fell, not on Lemnos, but into the sea, where he was saved by Thetis. See Homer, *Il.* xviii. 394 *sqq.*

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ἔλεγε <Γῆ> γεννήσειν<sup>1</sup> παῖδα μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι<sup>2</sup> κόρην, ὃς οὐρανοῦ δυνάστης γενήσεται. τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς κατέπιεν αὐτήν· ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως<sup>3</sup> ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου, ἐκ κορυφῆς, ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος, Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὄπλοις ἀνέθορον.

IV. Τῶν δὲ Κοίου θυγατέρων Ἀστερία μὲν ὁμοιωθεῖσα ὄρνυγι ἑαυτὴν εἰς θάλασσαν ἔρριψε, φεύγουσα τὴν πρὸς Δία συνουσίαν· καὶ πόλις ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἀστερία πρότερον κληθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ Δῆλος. Λητώ δὲ συνελθοῦσα Διὶ κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἄπασαν ὑφ' Ἡρας ἠλαύνετο, μέχρις εἰς Δῆλον ἐλθοῦσα γεννᾶ πρώτην Ἄρτεμιν, ὑφ' ἧς μαιωθεῖσα ὕστερον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐγέννησεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἔλεγε <Γῆ> γεννήσειν Heyne, comparing Hesiod, *Theog.* 890 sq. : ἔλεγε γεννήσειν A, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> γεννᾶσθαι E, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D : γένεσθαι A.

<sup>3</sup> γεννήσεως A, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D : γενέσεως E, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> See Hesiod, *Theog.* 886-900, 929ε-929ρ, ed. Evelyn-White; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D. Hesiod says that Zeus acted on the advice or warning of Earth and Sky. The Scholiast on Hesiod, quoted by Goettling and Paley in their commentaries, says that Metis had the power of turning herself into any shape she pleased.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 195, who cites the first book of Apollodorus as his authority. According to the usual account, followed by the vase-painters, it was Hephaestus who cleft the head of Zeus with an axe and so delivered Athena. See Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 35 (65) sqq.; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 23 D. According to Euripides (*Ion*, 454 sqq.), the delivery was effected by Prometheus; but according to others it was Palamaon or Hermes who split the

swallowed her, because Earth said that, after giving birth to the maiden who was then in her womb, Metis would bear a son who should be the lord of heaven. From fear of that Zeus swallowed her.<sup>1</sup> And when the time came for the birth to take place, Prometheus or, as others say, Hephaestus, smote the head of Zeus with an axe, and Athena, fully armed, leaped up from the top of his head at the river Triton.<sup>2</sup>

IV. Of the daughters of Coeus, Asteria in the likeness of a quail flung herself into the sea in order to escape the amorous advances of Zeus, and a city was formerly called after her Asteria, but afterwards it was named Delos.<sup>3</sup> But Latona for her intrigue with Zeus was hunted by Hera over the whole earth, till she came to Delos and brought forth first Artemis, by the help of whose midwifery she afterwards gave birth to Apollo.<sup>4</sup>

head of the supreme god and so allowed Athena to leap forth. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 35 (65).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos*, 36 sqq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 401; Hyginus, *Fab.* 53; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 73; Lactantius Placidus, on Stadius, *Theb.* iv. 795; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13, 79 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 37; Second Vatican Mythographer, 17).

<sup>4</sup> As to the birth of Apollo and Artemis, see the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 14 sqq.; Pindar, *On Delos*, p. 560, ed. Sandys; Hyginus, *Fab.* 140; and the writers cited in the preceding note. The usual tradition was that Latona gave birth both to Artemis and to Apollo in Delos, which formerly had been called Asteria or Ortygia. But the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* distinguishes Ortygia from Delos, and says that, while Apollo was born in Delos, Artemis was born in Ortygia. Thus distinguished from Delos, the island of Ortygia is probably to be identified, as Strabo thought, with Rhenia, an uninhabited island a little way from Delos, where were the graves of the Delians; for no dead body might be buried or burnt in Delos (Strabo,

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Ἄρτεμις μὲν οὖν τὰ περὶ θήραν ἀσκήσασα παρθένος ἔμεινε, Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν μαθὼν παρὰ Πανὸς τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Ἔβρω<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, χρησμοφδοῦσης τότε Θέμιδος· ὡς δὲ ὁ φρουρῶν τὸ μαντεῖον Πύθων ὄφεις ἐκώλυεν αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χάσμα, τοῦτον ἀνελὼν τὸ μαντεῖον παραλαμβάνει. κτείνει δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ Τιτυόν, ὃς ἦν Διὸς υἱὸς καὶ τῆς Ὀρχομενοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἐλάρης,<sup>2</sup> ἦν Ζεὺς, ἐπειδὴ συνῆλθε,

<sup>1</sup> Ἔβρω<sup>ς</sup> EA, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 772 (all MSS.), Westermann: Θύμρω<sup>ς</sup> Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.*, *Argum.* (p. 297, ed. Boeckh), Aegius, Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐλάρης Aegius: ἐλάρης A: ἐλένης E.

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x. 5. 5, p. 486). Not only so, but it was not even lawful either to be born or to die in Delos; expectant mothers and dying folk were ferried across to Rhenia, there to give birth or to die. However, Rhenia is so near the sacred isle that when Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, dedicated it to the Delian Apollo, he connected the two islands by a chain. See Thucydides, iii. 104; Diodorus Siculus, xii. 58. 1; Pausanias, ii. 27. 1. The notion that either a birth or a death would defile the holy island is illustrated by an inscription found on the acropolis of Athens, which declares it to be the custom that no one should be born or die within any sacred precinct. See *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, Athens, 1884, pp. 167 sq. The desolate and ruinous remains of the ancient necropolis, overgrown by asphodel, may still be seen on the bare treeless slopes of Rhenia, which looks across the strait to Delos. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 14 sq. The quaint legend, recorded by Apollodorus, that immediately after her birth Artemis helped her younger twin brother Apollo to be born into the world, is mentioned also by Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 73) and the Vatican Mythographers (see the reference in the last note). The legend, these writers inform us, was told to explain why the maiden  
 198 Artemis was invoked by women in childbed.

Now Artemis devoted herself to the chase and remained a maid; but Apollo learned the art of prophecy from Pan, the son of Zeus and Hybris,<sup>1</sup> and came to Delphi, where Themis at that time used to deliver oracles;<sup>2</sup> and when the snake Python, which guarded the oracle, would have hindered him from approaching the chasm,<sup>3</sup> he killed it and took over the oracle.<sup>4</sup> Not long afterwards he slew also Tityus, who was a son of Zeus and Elare, daughter of Orchomenus; for her, after he had debauched her,

<sup>1</sup> Pan, son of Zeus and Thymbreus (Thymbris? Hybris?), is mentioned by a Scholiast on Pindar, who distinguishes him from Pan, the son of Hermes and Penelope. See the Argument to the *Pythians*, p. 297, ed. Boeckh.

<sup>2</sup> As to the oracle of Themis at Delphi, see Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 1 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1259 *sqq.*; Pausanias, x. 5. 6; Scholiast on Pindar, Argument to the *Pythians*, p. 297, ed. Boeckh. According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* i. 367 *sqq.*), it was Themis, and not Apollo, whom Deucalion consulted at Delphi about the best means of re-peopling the earth after the great flood.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the oracular chasm at which the priestess, under the supposed influence of its divine exhalations, delivered her prophecies. See Diodorus Siculus, xvi. 26; Strabo, ix. 3. 5, p. 419; Justin, xxiv. 6. 9.

<sup>4</sup> As to Apollo's slaughter of the Python, the dragon that guarded the oracle at Delphi, see Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 12; *id. De defectu oraculorum*, 15; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 1; Pausanias, ii. 7. 7, ii. 30. 3, x. 6. 5 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 437 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 140. From Plutarch and Aelian we learn that Apollo had to go to Tempe to be purified for the slaughter of the dragon, and that both the slaughter of the dragon and the purification of the god were represented every eighth year in a solemn festival at Delphi. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 7. 7 (vol. iii. pp. 53 *sqq.*). The Pythian games at Delphi were instituted in honour of the dead dragon (Ovid and Hyginus, *l.c.*; compare Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* 2, p. 29, ed. Potter), probably to soothe his natural anger at being slain.



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δείσας Ἡραν ὑπὸ γῆν ἔκρυψε, καὶ τὸν κρυφορηθέντα παῖδα Τίτυον ὑπερμεγέθη εἰς φῶς ἀνήγαγεν. οὗτος ἐρχομένην<sup>1</sup> εἰς Πυθῶ Λητῶ θεωρήσας, πόθῳ κατασχεθεὶς ἐπισπᾶται· ἡ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐπικαλεῖται καὶ κατατοξεύουσιν αὐτόν. κολάζεται δὲ καὶ μετὰ θάνατον· γῦπες γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὴν καρδίαν ἐν Ἄιδου ἐσθίουσιν.

- 2 Ἀπέκτεινε δὲ Ἀπόλλων καὶ τὸν Ὀλύμπου παῖδα Μαρσύαν. οὗτος γὰρ εὐρῶν αὐλούς, οὗς ἔρριψεν Ἀθηναῖα διὰ τὸ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῆς ποιεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἐρχομένην ER, compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 581 : ἐρχόμενος A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* vii. 324 ; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* vii. 324, p. 1581 ; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 761 *sq.*, with the Scholiast on v. 761. The curious story how Zeus hid his light o' love under the earth to save her from the jealous rage of Hera was told by the early mythologist and antiquarian Pherecydes of Athens, as we learn from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*). Pherecydes was a contemporary of Herodotus and Hellanicus, and wrote in the first half of the fifth century B.C. Apollodorus often refers to him, and appears to have made much use of his writings, as I shall have occasion to observe in the course of these notes. With regard to Elare or Elara, the mother of Tityus, some people thought that she was a daughter of Minyas, not of Orchomenus (Scholiast on Homer, and Eustathius, *l.c.*). Because Tityus was brought up under the earth, he was said to be earth-born (*γηγενής*, Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 761). Homer calls him simply a son of Earth (*Od.* xi. 576), and in this he is followed by Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 595).

<sup>2</sup> As to the crime and punishment of Tityus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 576-581 ; Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 90 (160) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on v. 90 (160) ; Lucretius, iii. 984 *sqq.* ; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 595 *sqq.* ; Horace, *Odes.* ii. 14. 8 *sq.*, iii. 4. 77 *sqq.*, iii. 11. 21 *sq.*, iv. 6. 2 *sq.* ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 55 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 110.

Zeus hid under the earth for fear of Hera, and brought forth to the light the son Tityus, of monstrous size, whom she had borne in her womb.<sup>1</sup> When Latona came to Delphi, Tityus beheld her, and overpowered by lust drew her to him. But she called her children to her aid, and they shot him down with their arrows. And he is punished even after death; for vultures eat his heart in Hades.<sup>2</sup>

Apollo also slew Marsyas, the son of Olympus. For Marsyas, having found the pipes which Athena had thrown away because they disfigured her face,<sup>3</sup>

(First Vatican Mythographer, 13; Second Vatican Mythographer, 104). The tomb of Tityus was shown at Panopeus in Phocis; it was a mound or barrow about a third of a furlong in circumference. See Pausanias, x. 4. 5. In Euboea there was shown a cave called Elarium after the mother of Tityus, and Tityus himself had a shrine where he was worshipped as a hero (Strabo, ix. 3. 14, p. 423). The death of Tityus at the hands of Apollo and Artemis was represented on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (Pausanias, iii. 18. 15), and it was the subject of a group of statuary dedicated by the Cnidians at Delphi (Pausanias, x. 11. 1). His sufferings in hell were painted by Polygnotus in his famous picture of the underworld at Delphi. The great artist represented the sinner worn to a shadow, but no longer racked by the vultures gnawing at his liver (Pausanias, x. 29. 3).

<sup>3</sup> As she played on the pipes, she is said to have seen her puffed and swollen cheeks reflected in water. See Plutarch, *De cohibenda ira*, 6; Athenaeus, xiv. 7, p. 616 EF; Propertius, iii. 22 (29). 16 sqq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 697 sqq.; *id. Ars Amat.* iii. 505 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 165; Fulgentius, *Mythology.* iii. 9; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 40, 114 (First Vatican Mythographer, 125; Second Vatican Mythographer, 115). On the acropolis at Athens there was a group of statuary representing Athena smiting Marsyas because he had picked up the flutes which she had thrown away (Pausanias, i. 24. 1). The subject was a favourite theme in ancient art. See my note on Pausanias, *l.c.* (vol. ii. pp. 289 sqq.).

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ἄμορφον, ἦλθεν εἰς ἔριν περὶ μουσικῆς Ἀπόλλωνι. συνθεμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἵνα ὁ νικήσας ὁ βούλεται διαθῆ τὸν ἠττημένον, τῆς κρίσεως γινομένης τὴν κιθάραν στρέψας ἠγωνίζετο ὁ Ἀπόλλων, καὶ ταῦτὸ ποιεῖν ἐκέλευσε<sup>1</sup> τὸν Μαρσύαν· τοῦ δὲ ἀδυνατοῦντος εὐρεθεὶς κρείσσων ὁ Ἀπόλλων, κρεμάσας τὸν Μαρσύαν ἔκ τινος ὑπερτενοῦς πίτυος, ἐκτεμῶν τὸ δέρμα οὕτως διέφθειρεν.

- 3 Ὀρίωνα δὲ Ἄρτεμις ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Δήλῳ. τοῦτον γηγενῆ λέγουσιν ὑπερμεγέθη τὸ σῶμα· Φερεκύδης δὲ αὐτὸν Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Εὐρυάλης λέγει. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν διαβαίνειν τὴν θάλασσαν. οὗτος <πρώτην><sup>2</sup> μὲν ἔγρημε Σίδην, ἣν ἔρριψεν εἰς Ἄιδου περὶ μορφῆς ἐρίσασαν Ἡρα·<sup>3</sup> αὐθις δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς Χίον Μερόπην

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσε A: ἐκέλευε E, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> <πρώτην> conjecturally inserted by Hercher and Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡρα Wagner (apparently a misprint.)

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<sup>1</sup> As to the musical contest between Marsyas and Apollo, and the punishment of the vanquished Marsyas, see Diodorus Siculus, iii. 59; Pausanias, ii. 22. 9; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 382 sqq.; *id. Fasti*, vi. 703 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 165; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 40, 114 (First Vatican Mythographer, 125; Second Vatican Mythographer, 115). There has been some doubt as to the interpretation of the words τὴν κιθάραν στρέψας; but that they mean simply "turned the lyre upside down," as Heyne correctly explained them, is shown by a comparison with the parallel passages in Hyginus ("*citharam versabat*") and the Second Vatican Mythographer ("*invertit citharam, et canere coepit. Inversis autem tibiis, quum se Marsya Apollini aequiparare nequiret*" etc.). That the tree on which Marsyas was hanged was a pine is affirmed by many ancient writers besides Apollodorus. See Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 301 sq., with the Scholiast's note; Lucian, *Trago-*

engaged in a musical contest with Apollo. They agreed that the victor should work his will on the vanquished, and when the trial took place Apollo turned his lyre upside down in the competition and bade Marsyas do the same. But Marsyas could not, So Apollo was judged the victor and despatched Marsyas by hanging him on a tall pine tree and stripping off his skin.<sup>1</sup>

And Artemis slew Orion in Delos.<sup>2</sup> They say that he was of gigantic stature and born of the earth; but Pherecydes says that he was a son of Poseidon and Euryale.<sup>3</sup> Poseidon bestowed on him the power of striding across the sea.<sup>4</sup> He first married Side,<sup>5</sup> whom Hera cast into Hades because she rivalled herself in beauty. Afterwards he went to Chios and

*dopodagra*, 314 sq.; Archias Mitylenaeus, in *Anthologia Palatina*, vii. 696; Philostratus Junior, *Imagines*, i. 3; Longus, *Pastor*. iv. 8; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 81; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 353 sqq. Pliny alone describes the tree as a plane, which in his time was still shown at Aulocrene on the way from Apamea to Phrygia (*Nat. Hist.* xvi. 240). The skin of the flayed Marsyas was exhibited at Celaenae within historical times. See Herodotus, vii. 26; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 2. 8; Livy, xxxviii. 13. 6; Quintus Curtius, iii. 1. 1-5; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 106.

<sup>2</sup> See Homer, *Od.* v. 121-124; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 70 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The same account of Orion's parentage was given by Hesiod, whom Pherecydes probably followed. See Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Some thought that Orion waded through the sea (so Virgil, *Aen.* x. 763 sqq.), others that he walked on the top of it (so Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Scholiast on Nicander, *Ther.* 15; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34).

<sup>5</sup> As Side means "pomegranate" in Greek, it has been supposed that the marriage of Orion to Side is a mythical expression for the ripening of the pomegranate at the season when the constellation Orion is visible in the nightly sky. See W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>3</sup> (Brunswick, 1884), ii. 1383.

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τὴν Οἰνοπίωνος ἐμνηστεύσατο. μεθύσας δὲ Οἰνοπίων αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον ἐτύφλωσε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἔρριψεν. ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ <Ἥφαιστου><sup>1</sup> χαλκεῖον ἐλθὼν καὶ ἀρπάσας παῖδα ἓνα, ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐπιθέμενος ἐκέλευσε ποδηγεῖν πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς. ἐκεῖ δὲ παραγενόμενος ἀνέβλεψεν ἑξακεσθεῖς<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλιακῆς ἀκτίνος, καὶ διὰ  
 4 ταχέων ἐπὶ τὸν Οἰνοπίωνα ἔσπενδεν. ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν Ποσειδῶν ἠφαιστότευκτον ὑπὸ γῆν κατεσκεύασεν οἶκον, Ὠρίωνος δ' Ἡὼς ἐρασθεῖσα ἤρπασε καὶ ἐκόμισεν εἰς Δῆλον· ἐποίει γὰρ αὐτὴν Ἀφροδίτῃ συνεχῶς ἐρᾶν, ὅτι Ἄρει συνεννάσθη.  
 5 ὁ δ' Ὠρίων, ὡς μὲν ἐνιοὶ λέγουσιν, ἀνηρέθη δισκεύειν Ἄρτεμιν προκαλούμενος, ὡς δέ τινες, βιαζόμενος Ὠπιὴν μίαν τῶν ἐξ Ἑπερβορέων παραγενομένων παρθένων ὑπ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἐτοξεύθη.

<sup>1</sup> <Ἥφαιστου> a conjecture of Heyne, who proposed to read <εἰς Λῆμνον> ἐπὶ τὸ χαλκεῖον <Ἥφαιστου>, comparing Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 32.

<sup>2</sup> ἑξακεσθεῖς Hercher: ἑκκαεῖς MSS. and editors, including Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> This quaint story of Orion and Oenopion is told also by Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; the old Scholiast on Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 322, quoted in *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, p. 89; the Scholiast on Nicander, *Theor.* 15; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 763; and the First Vatican Mythographer, 33 (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 12), except that this last writer substitutes Minos, king of Crete, for Oenopion. The name of the guide whom Orion took on his back to guide him to the sunrise was Cedalion (Lucian, *De domo*, 28; Eratosthenes, Scholiast on Aratus, and Hyginus, *ll. cc.*). Sophocles made the story the theme of a satyric drama called *Cedalion*, of which a few fragments have come down to us. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Frag-*

wooded Merope, daughter of Oenopion. But Oenopion made him drunk, put out his eyes as he slept, and cast him on the beach. But he went to the smithy of Hephaestus, and snatching up a lad set him on his shoulders and bade him lead him to the sunrise. Being come thither he was healed by the sun's rays, and having recovered his sight he hastened with all speed against Oenopion. But for him Poseidon had made ready a house under the earth constructed by Hephaestus.<sup>1</sup> And Dawn fell in love with Orion and carried him off and brought him to Delos; for Aphrodite caused Dawn to be perpetually in love, because she had bedded with Ares. But Orion was killed, as some say, for challenging Artemis to a match at quoits, but some say he was shot by Artemis for offering violence to Opis, one of the maidens who had come from the Hyperboreans.<sup>2</sup>

*menta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 202 *sq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 8 *sqq.* Euripides represents the blinded Polymestor praying to the Sun to restore his sight (*Hecuba*, 1067 *sqq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 121, who calls the maiden Opis. According to another, and more generally received, account, Orion died of the bite of a scorpion, which Artemis sent against him because he had attempted her chastity. For this service the scorpion was raised to the rank of a constellation in the sky, and Orion attained to a like dignity. That is why the constellation Orion lies for ever from the constellation Scorpion round the sky. See Aratus, *Phaenomena*, 634 *sqq.*; Nicander, *Ther.* 13 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Catasterism.* 32; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* v. 121; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 27; Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, *Aratea*, p. 386, ed. Eyssenhardt, in his edition of Martianus Capella. The Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486, cites as his authority Euphorion, a grammarian and poet of the fourth century B.C.

## APOLLODORUS

Ποσειδῶν δὲ Ἀμφιτρίτην [τὴν Ὀκεανοῦ] γαμεί,  
καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται Τρίτων καὶ Ῥόδη, ἣν Ἥλιος  
ἔγημε.

V. Πλούτων δὲ Περσεφόνης ἐρασθεὶς Διὸς  
συνεργούντος ἤρπασεν αὐτὴν κρύφα. Δημήτηρ  
δὲ μετὰ λαμπάδων νυκτός τε καὶ ἡμέρας κατὰ  
πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ζητοῦσα περιήει· μαθοῦσα δὲ  
παρ' Ἑρμιονέων ὅτι Πλούτων αὐτὴν ἤρπασεν,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 930 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Rhode, more commonly in the form Rhodos, is a personification of the island of Rhodes, which Pindar calls the Bride of the Sun (*Olymp.* vii. 14), because it was the great seat of the worship of the Sun in ancient Greece. A Rhodian inscription of about 220 B.C. records public prayers offered by the priests "to the Sun and Rhodos and all the other gods and goddesses and founders and heroes who have the city and the land of the Rhodians in their keeping." See P. Cauer, *Delectus Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, p. 123, No. 181; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques*, p. 24, No. 21; H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, vol. iii. p. 412, No. 3749. Every year the Rhodians threw into the sea a chariot and four horses for the use of the Sun, apparently supposing that after riding a whole year across the sky his old chariot and horses must be quite worn out. See Festus, *s.v.* "October equus," p. 181, ed. C. O. Müller.

<sup>3</sup> This account of the rape of Persephone and Demeter's quest of her is based on the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The opening passage, including the explanation of the Laughless Stone, is quoted verbally by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 7) and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Knights*, 785), but without mention of their authority. For other accounts of the rape of Persephone and Demeter's quest of her, see Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 1-3, v. 68. 2; Cicero, *In Verrem*, Act. II. lib. 4, cap. 48; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 419 *sqq.*; *id.* *Metamorph.* v. 346 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, v. 347; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 106-108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 93-100). All these writers

Poseidon wedded Amphitrite, daughter of Ocean, and there were born to him Triton<sup>1</sup> and Rhode, who was married to the Sun.<sup>2</sup>

V. Pluto fell in love with Persephone and with the help of Zeus carried her off secretly.<sup>3</sup> But Demeter went about seeking her all over the earth with torches by night and day, and learning from the people of Hermion that Pluto had carried her off,<sup>4</sup>

agree in mentioning Sicily as the scene of the rape of Persephone; Cicero and Ovid identify the place with Enna (Henna), of which Cicero gives a vivid description. The author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* says (*vv.* 16 *sq.*) that the earth yawned "in the Nysian plain," but whether this was a real or a mythical place is doubtful. See T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, p. 4 (on *Hymn* i. 8). It was probably the luxuriant fertility of Sicily, and particularly the abundance of its corn, which led later writers to place the scene of the rape in that island. In Ovid's version of the visit of Demeter to Eleusis (*Fasti*, iv. 507 *sqq.*), Celeus is not the king of the place but a poor old peasant, who receives the disguised goddess in his humble cottage.

<sup>4</sup> This visit paid by the mourning Demeter to Hermion, when she was searching for the lost Persephone, is not mentioned by the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, nor, so far as I know, by any other ancient writer except Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 7) and the Scholiast on Aristophanes (*Knights*, 785), both of whom, however, merely copied Apollodorus without naming him. But compare Pausanias, ii. 35. 4-8, who mentions the sanctuary of Subterranean Demeter at Hermion, and describes the curious sacrificial ritual observed at it. At Hermion there was a chasm which was supposed to communicate with the infernal regions, and through which Hercules was said to have dragged up Cerberus (Pausanias, ii. 35. 10). The statement of Apollodorus in the present passage suggests that according to local tradition Pluto dragged down his bride to hell through the same chasm. So convinced were the good people of Hermion that they possessed a private entrance to the nether regions that they very thriftily abstained from the usual Greek practice of placing money in the mouths of their dead



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ὀργιζομένη θεοῖς κατέλιπεν<sup>1</sup> οὐρανόν, εἰκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικὶ ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κληθεῖσαν Ἀγέλαστον ἐκάθισε πέτραν παρὰ τὸ Καλλίχορον φρέαρ καλούμενον, ἔπειτα πρὸς Κελεὸν ἔλθουσα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τότε Ἐλευσινίων, ἔνδον οὐσῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ λεγουσῶν τούτων παρ' αὐτὰς καθέζεσθαι, γραϊὰ τις Ἰάμβη σκώψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιᾶσαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς θεσμοφορίοις τὰς γυναῖκας σκώπτειν λέγουσιν.

Ὅντος δὲ τῆ τοῦ Κελεοῦ γυναικὶ Μετανείρα παιδίου, τοῦτο ἔτρεφεν ἡ Δημήτηρ παραλαβοῦσα· βουλομένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι, τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατετίθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιγῆρει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ. καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ παραδόξως αὐξανομένου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν

<sup>1</sup> κατέλιπεν Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 7, Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 785 : ἀπέλιπεν A.

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(Strabo, ix. 6. 12, p. 373). Apparently they thought that it would be a waste of money to pay Charon for ferrying them across to hell when they could get there for nothing from their own backdoor.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 98 *sqq.*, who says that Demeter, sad at heart, sat down by the wayside at the Maiden's Well, under the shadow of an olive-tree. Later in the poem (*vv.* 270 *sqq.*) Demeter directs the people of Eleusis to build her a temple and altar "above Callichorum"—that is, the Well of the Fair Dances. Apollodorus identifies the well beside which Demeter sat down with the Well of the Fair Dances. But from Pausanias (i. 38. 6, i. 39. 1) we learn that the two wells were different and situated at some distance from each other, the Well of the Fair Dances being close to the Sanctuary of Demeter, and the Maiden's Well, or the Flowery Well, as Pausanias calls it, being outside Eleusis, on the road to Megara. In the course of the modern

she was wroth with the gods and quitted heaven, and came in the likeness of a woman to Eleusis. And first she sat down on the rock which has been named Laughless after her, beside what is called the Well of the Fair Dances<sup>1</sup>; thereupon she made her way to Celeus, who at that time reigned over the Eleusinians. Some women were in the house, and when they bid her sit down beside them, a certain old crone, Iambe, joked the goddess and made her smile.<sup>2</sup> For that reason they say that the women break jests at the Thesmophoria.<sup>3</sup>

But Metanira, wife of Celeus, had a child and Demeter received it to nurse, and wishing to make it immortal she set the babe of nights on the fire and stripped off its mortal flesh. But as Demophon—for

excavation of the sanctuary at Eleusis, the Well of the Fair Dances was discovered just outside the portal of the sacred precinct. It is carefully built of polygonal stones, and the mouth is surrounded by concentric circles, round which the women of Eleusis probably tripped in the dance. See *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας*, Athens, 1892, pp. 33 sq. In antiquity solemn oaths were sworn by the water of the well (Alciphron, iii. 69).

<sup>1</sup> As to the jesting of the old woman with Demeter, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 194–206; Scholiast on Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, 130, who calls Demeter's host Hippothoon, son of Poseidon.

<sup>2</sup> The jests seem to have been obscene in form (Diodorus Siculus, v. 4. 6), but they were probably serious in intention; for at the Thesmophoria rites were performed to ensure the fertility of the fields, and the lewd words of the women may have been thought to quicken the seed by sympathetic magic. See *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipsic, 1906), pp. 275 sq.; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 62 sq., 116, ii. 17 sqq.

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- ὄνομα τῷ παιδί) ἐπετήρησεν ἡ Πραξιθέα,<sup>1</sup> καὶ καταλαβοῦσα εἰς πῦρ ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀνεβόησε· διόπερ τὸ μὲν βρέφος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνηλώθη,  
 2 ἡ θεὰ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐξέφηνε. Τριπτολέμῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Μεταναίρας<sup>2</sup> παιδῶν δίφρον κατασκευάσασα πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν πυρὸν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ τὴν ὄλην οἰκουμένην δι' οὐρανοῦ αἰρόμενος κατέσπειρε. Πανύασις δὲ Τριπτόλεμον Ἐλευσίνος λέγει· φησὶ γὰρ Δήμητρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς.
- 3 Διὸς δὲ Πλούτωνι τὴν Κόρην ἀναπέμψαι κελεύσαντος, ὁ Πλούτων, ἵνα μὴ πολὺν χρόνον παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ καταμείνῃ, ροιᾶς ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ φαγεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἡ Πραξιθέα A, Bekker: Μεταναίρα, τί πράξει θεά Heyne, Westermann: Μεταναίρα, τί πράσσει ἡ θεὰ Müller: ἡ Μεταναίρα Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> Μεταναίρας Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Πραξιθέας A.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, "Putting Children on the Fire."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 28, pp. 53 sq. ed. C. Lang; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 559 sqq.; *id. Tristia*, iii. 8. (9) 1 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 147; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19 and 163; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 382; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 107 (First Vatican Mythographer, 8; Second Vatican Mythographer, 97). The dragon-car of Triptolemus was mentioned by Sophocles in his lost tragedy *Triptolemus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, p. 262, frag. 539; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 243, frag. 596. In Greek vase-paintings Triptolemus is often represented in his dragon-car. As to the representations of the car in ancient art, see Stephani, in *Compte Rendu* (St. Petersburg) for 1859, pp. 82 sqq.; my note on Pausanias, vii. 18. 3 (vol. iv. pp. 142 sq.); and especially

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that was the child's name—grew marvellously by day, Praxithea watched, and discovering him buried in the fire she cried out; wherefore the babe was consumed by the fire and the goddess revealed herself.<sup>1</sup> But for Triptolemus, the elder of Metanira's children, she made a chariot of winged dragons, and gave him wheat, with which, wafted through the sky, he sowed the whole inhabited earth.<sup>2</sup> But Panyasis affirms that Triptolemus was a son of Eleusis, for he says that Demeter came to him. Pherecydes, however, says that he was a son of Ocean and Earth.<sup>3</sup>

But when Zeus ordered Pluto to send up the Maid, Pluto gave her a seed of a pomegranate to eat, in order that she might not tarry long with her mother.<sup>4</sup>

A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. (Cambridge, 1914), pp. 211 *sqq.*, who shows that on the earlier monuments Triptolemus is represented sitting on a simple wheel, which probably represents the sun. Apparently he was a mythical embodiment of the first sower. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 72 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> The accounts given of the parentage of Triptolemus were very various (Pausanias, i. 14. 2 *sq.*), which we need not wonder at when we remember that he was probably a purely mythical personage. As to Eleusis, the equally mythical hero who is said to have given his name to Eleusis, see Pausanias, viii. 38. 7. He is called Eleusinus by Hyginus (*Fab.* 147) and Servius (on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 19).

<sup>4</sup> The Maid (*Kore*) is Persephone. As to her eating a seed or seeds of a pomegranate, see *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 371 *sqq.*, 411 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 333 *sqq.*; *id.* *Fasti*, iv. 601 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39 and *Aen.* iv. 462; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 511; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 3, 108 (First Vatican Mythographer, 7; Second Vatican Mythographer, 100). There is a widespread belief that if a living person visits the world of the dead and there partakes of food, he cannot return to the land of the living. Thus, the ancient Egyptians believed that, on his way to the spirit land, the soul of a dead person was met by a goddess (Hathor,

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κόκκον. ἡ δὲ οὐ προΐδομένη τὸ συμβησόμενον  
κατηνάλωσεν αὐτόν. καταμαρτυρήσαντος δὲ  
αὐτῆς Ἀσκαλάφου τοῦ Ἀχέροντος καὶ Γοργύρας,  
τούτῳ μὲν Δημήτηρ ἐν Ἰδίου βαρεΐαν ἐπέθηκε  
πέτραν, Περσεφόνη δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν τὸ  
μὲν τρίτον μετὰ Πλούτωνος ἠναγκάσθη μένειν,  
τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς.

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Nouit, or Nit), who offered him fruits, bread, and water, and that, if he accepted them, he could return to earth no more. See G. Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classiques, les Origines* (Paris, 1895), p. 184. Similarly, the natives of New Caledonia, in the South Pacific, say that when a man dies, messengers come from the other world to guide his soul through the air and over the sea to the spirit land. Arrived there, he is welcomed by the other souls and bidden to a banquet, where he is offered food, especially bananas. If he tastes them, his doom is fixed for ever: he cannot return to earth. See the missionary Gagnière, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, xxxii. (Lyons, 1860), pp. 439 sq. The Eastern Melanesians believe that living people can go down to the land of the dead and return alive to the upper world. Persons who have done so relate how in the nether world they were warned by friendly ghosts to eat nothing there. See R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 277, 286. Similar beliefs prevail and similar tales are told among the Maoris of New Zealand. For example, a woman who believed that she had died and passed to the spirit land, related on her return how there she met with her dead father, who said to her, "You must go back to the earth, for there is no one now left to take care of my grandchild. But remember, if you once eat food in this place, you can never more return to life; so beware not to taste anything offered to you." See E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (London, 1856), pp. 150-152. Again, they tell of a great chief named Hutu, who performed the same perilous journey. On reaching the place of departed spirits he encountered a certain being called Hine nui te po, that is, Great Mother Night, of whom he inquired the way down to the nether world. She pointed it out to him and

Not foreseeing the consequence, she swallowed it; and because Ascalaphus, son of Acheron and Gorgyra, bore witness against her, Demeter laid a heavy rock on him in Hades.<sup>1</sup> But Persephone was compelled to remain a third of every year with Pluto and the rest of the time with the gods.<sup>2</sup>

gave him a basket of cooked food, saying, "When you reach the lower regions, eat sparingly of your provisions that they may last, and you may not be compelled to partake of their food, for if you do, you cannot return upwards again." See R. Taylor, *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, 2nd ed. (London, 1870), p. 271. And the same rule holds good of fairyland, into which living people sometimes stray or are enticed to their sorrow. "Wise people recommend that, in the circumstances, a man should not utter a word till he comes out again, nor, on any account, taste fairy food or drink. If he abstains he is very likely before long dismissed, but if he indulges he straightway loses the will and the power ever to return to the society of men." See J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1900), p. 17. See further E. S. Hartland, *The Science of Fairy Tales* (London, 1891), pp. 40 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> As to the talebearer Ascalaphus, below, ii. 5. 12. According to another account, Persephone or Demeter punished him by turning him into a screech-owl. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 538 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39 and on *Aen.* iv. 462; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 511; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 100).

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus agrees with the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (vv. 398 sqq., 445 sqq.) that Persephone was to spend one-third of each year with her husband Pluto in the nether world and two-thirds of the year with her mother and the other gods in the upper world. But, according to another account, Persephone was to divide her time equally between the two regions, passing six months below the earth and six months above it. See Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 613 sq.; *id. Metamorph.* v. 564 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 146; Servius, on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 39; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 108 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 100).

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VI. Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δήμητρος ταῦτα λέγεται. Γῆ δὲ περὶ Τιτάνων ἀγανακτοῦσα γεννᾷ Γίγαντας ἐξ Οὐρανοῦ, μεγέθει μὲν σωμαίων ἀνυπερβλήτους, δυνάμει δὲ ἀκαταγωνίστους, οἳ φοβεροὶ μὲν ταῖς ὄψεσι κατεφαίνοντο, καθειμένοι βαθεῖαν κόμην ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενείων, εἶχον δὲ τὰς βάσεις φολίδας δρακόντων. ἐγένοντο δέ, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἐν Φλέγραις, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, ἐν Παλλήνῃ. ἠκόντιζον δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν<sup>1</sup> πέτρας καὶ δρυὲς ἡμένας. διέφερον δὲ πάντων Πορφυρίων τε καὶ Ἀλκυονέως, ὃς δὴ καὶ ἀθάνατος ἦν ἐν ἧπερ ἐγεννήθη γῆ μαχόμενος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἥλιου βόας ἐξ Ἐρυθρίας ἤλασε. τοῖς δὲ θεοῖς λόγιον ἦν ὑπὸ θεῶν μὲν μηδένα τῶν Γιγάντων ἀπολέσθαι δύνασθαι, συμμαχοῦντος δὲ θνητοῦ τινος τελευτήσῃν. αἰσθομένη δὲ Γῆ τοῦτο ἐζήτηι φάρμακον, ἵνα μηδ' ὑπὸ θνητοῦ δυνηθῶσιν ἀπολέσθαι. Ζεὺς

<sup>1</sup> οὐρανὸν E: οὐρανοῦς A.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 183 *sqq.*), Earth was impregnated by the blood which dropped from heaven when Cronus mutilated his father Sky (Uranus), and in due time she gave birth to the giants. As to the battle of the gods and giants, see J. Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 63; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 49 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 150 *sqq.*; Claudian, *Gigantomachia*; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xii. 15 *sqq.*, ed. Baret; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 92 (First Vatican Mythographer, 11; Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). The account which Apollodorus here gives of it is supplemented by the evidence of the monuments, especially temple-sculptures and vase-paintings. See Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*, i. 67 *sqq.* Compare M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, (Berlin, 1887). The battle of the gods and the giants was sculptured on the outside of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as we learn from the description of Euripides (*Ion*, 208

VI. Such is the legend of Demeter. But Earth, vexed on account of the Titans, brought forth the giants, whom she had by Sky.<sup>1</sup> These were matchless in the bulk of their bodies and invincible in their might; terrible of aspect did they appear, with long locks drooping from their head and chin, and with the scales of dragons for feet.<sup>2</sup> They were born, as some say, in Phlegrae, but according to others in Pallene.<sup>3</sup> And they darted rocks and burning oaks at the sky. Surpassing all the rest were Porphyriion and Alcyoneus, who was even immortal so long as he fought in the land of his birth. He also drove away the cows of the Sun from Erythia. Now the gods had an oracle that none of the giants could perish at the hand of gods, but that with the help of a mortal they would be made an end of. Learning of this, Earth sought for a simple to prevent the giants from being destroyed even by

*sqq.*). On similar stories see Appendix, "War of Earth on Heaven."

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 184, *Tristia*, iv. 7. 17; Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 20. 9; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 578; Claudian, *Gigant.* 80 *sq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 92 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). Pausanias denied that the giants were serpent-footed (Pausanias, viii. 29. 3), but they are often so represented on the later monuments of antiquity. See Kuhnert, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1664 *sqq.*; M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen*, pp. 274 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Phlegra is said to have been the old name of Pallene (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Φλέγγρα). The scene of the battle of the gods and giants was laid in various places. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 71; Strabo, v. 4. 4 and 6, pp. 243, 245, vi. 3, 5, p. 281, vii. p. 330, frag. 25 and 27, x. 5. 16, p. 489, xi. 2. 10, p. 495; Pausanias, viii. 29. 1, with my note. Volcanic phenomena and the discovery of the fossil bones of large extinct animals seem to have been the principal sources of these tales.



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δ' ἀπειπὼν φαίνειν Ἅοι τε καὶ Σελήνη καὶ Ἥλιος  
 τὸ μὲν φάρμακον αὐτὸς ἔτεμε<sup>1</sup> φθάσας, Ἡρακλέα  
 δὲ σύμμαχον δι' Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπεκαλέσατο. κάκεινος  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόξευσεν Ἀλκυονέα· πίπτων δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τῆς γῆς μᾶλλον ἀνεθάλπετο· Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ ὑπο-  
 θεμένης ἔξω τῆς Παλλήνης<sup>2</sup> εἴλκυσεν αὐτόν.  
 2 κάκεινος μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτα, Πορφυρίων δὲ  
 Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφώρμησε καὶ Ἡρα.  
 Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ πόθον Ἡρας ἐνέβαλεν, ἥτις καὶ  
 καταρρηγνύντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πέπλους καὶ βιά-  
 ζεσθαι θέλοντος βοηθοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο· καὶ Διὸς  
 κεραυνώσαντος αὐτόν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύσας ἀπέκ-  
 τεине. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ἐφιάλτου  
 τὸν ἀριστερὸν ἐτόξευσεν ὀφθαλμόν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ  
 τὸν δεξιόν· Εὐρυτον δὲ θυρσῷ Διόνυσος ἔκτεινε,  
 Κλυτίον δὲ δασίν<sup>3</sup> Ἐκάτη, Μίμαντα<sup>4</sup> δὲ Ἡφαι-  
 στος βαλὼν μύδροις. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ Ἐγκελάδῳ φεύ-  
 γοντι Σικελίαν ἐπέρριψε τὴν νῆσον, Πάλλαντος  
 δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἐκτεμοῦσα ταύτη κατὰ τὴν μάχην

<sup>1</sup> ἔτεμε E: ἔταμε A.

<sup>2</sup> Παλλήνης Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Her-  
 cher, Wagner: σελήνης A.

<sup>3</sup> δασίν M. Mayer, *Die Giganten und Titanen* (Berlin,  
 1887), pp. 204 sq.: φασίν A.

<sup>4</sup> Μίμαντα M. Mayer, *op. cit.* pp. 204 sq. comparing Clau-  
 dian, *Gig.* 85, and Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.* xv. (Migne,  
 xii. Baret), 25: μᾶλλον MSS. and editors, including Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pindar, *Nem.* iv. 27 (43) sqq., *Isthm.* vi. 31 (45)  
 sqq. with the Scholia; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 63.  
 The Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 32 (47), mentions, like  
 Apollodorus, that Alcyoneus had driven away the oxen of  
 The reason why Hercules dragged the wounded

a mortal. But Zeus forbade the Dawn and the Moon and the Sun to shine, and then, before anybody else could get it, he culled the simple himself, and by means of Athena summoned Hercules to his help. Hercules first shot Alcyoneus with an arrow, but when the giant fell on the ground he somewhat revived. However, at Athena's advice Hercules dragged him outside Pallene, and so the giant died.<sup>1</sup> But in the battle Porphyrion attacked Hercules and Hera. Nevertheless Zeus inspired him with lust for Hera, and when he tore her robes and would have forced her, she called for help, and Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt, and Hercules shot him dead with an arrow.<sup>2</sup> As for the other giants, Ephialtes was shot by Apollo with an arrow in his left eye and by Hercules in his right; Eurytus was killed by Dionysus with a thyrsus, and Clytius by Hecate with torches, and Mimas by Hephaestus with missiles of red-hot metal.<sup>3</sup> Enceladus fled, but Athena threw on him in his flight the island of Sicily<sup>4</sup>; and she flayed Pallas and used his skin to shield her own body in

giant from Pallene before despatching him was that, as Apollodorus has explained above, the giant was immortal so long as he fought on the land where he had been born. That, too, is why the giant revived when in falling he touched his native earth.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 12 (15) *sqq.*, who says that the king of the giants (Porphyrion) was shot by Apollo, not Hercules. Tzetzes agrees with Apollodorus (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 63).

<sup>3</sup> According to Euripides (*Ion*, 215 *sq.*), Mimas was killed by Zeus with a thunderbolt; according to Apollonius (*Argon.* iii. 1226 *sq.*) and Claudian (*Gigant.* 87 *sq.*), he was slain by Ares.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 578 *sqq.* The combat of Athena with Enceladus was sculptured on the temple of Apollo at Delphi. See Euripides, *Ion*, 209 *sq.*

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τὸ ἴδιον ἐπέσκεπε σῶμα. Πολυβώτης δὲ διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης διωχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἦκεν εἰς Κῶ. Ποσειδῶν δὲ τῆς νήσου μέρος ἀπορρήξας ἐπέρριψεν αὐτῷ, τὸ λεγόμενον Νίσυρον. Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὴν Ἄιδος κυνὴν ἔχων κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἴππόλυτον ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἄρτεμις δὲ †Γρατίωνα,<sup>1</sup> μοῖραι δ' Ἄγριον καὶ Θόωνα χαλκίοις ῥοπάλοις μαχόμεναι<sup>2</sup> τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κεραυνοῖς Ζεὺς βαλὼν διέφθειρε· πάντας δὲ Ἑρσκέλης ἀπολλυμένους ἐτόξευσεν.

- 3 Ὡς δ' ἐκράτησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Γιγάντων, Γῆ μᾶλλον χολωθεῖσα μίγνυται Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ γεννᾷ Τυφῶνα ἐν Κιλικίᾳ,<sup>3</sup> μεμιγμένην ἔχοντα φύσιν ἀνδρὸς καὶ θηρίου. οὗτος μὲν καὶ μεγέθει καὶ δυνάμει πάντων διήνεγκεν ὄσους ἐγέννησε Γῆ, ἣν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρι μηρῶν ἄπλετον μέγεθος ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρών, ἣ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλάκις καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἔψαυε· χεῖρας δὲ εἶχε τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἐκτεινομένην τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολάς· ἐκ τούτων<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> †Γρατίωνα probably corrupt. Various emendations have been suggested, as Αἰγαίωνα (Heyne, M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 201 sq.), Εὐρυτίωνα, Ραίωνα (Hercher).

<sup>2</sup> μαχόμεναι Heyne, Westermann, M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 203: μαχομένας A: μαχομένους RR<sup>a</sup> Heyne (in the text), Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> Κιλικία Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: Σικελία A.

<sup>4</sup> For ἐκ τούτων we should perhaps read ἐξ ὧμων or ἐκ τῶν ὧμων. See Hesiod, *Theog.* 824 sq. ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὧμων | ἦν ἐκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος, δεινοῖο δράκοντος. Compare M. Mayer, *op. cit.* p. 227.

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<sup>1</sup> According to one account the Pallas whom Athena flayed, and whose skin she used as a covering, was her own father,

the fight.<sup>1</sup> Polybotes was chased through the sea by Poseidon and came to Cos; and Poseidon, breaking off that piece of the island which is called Nisyrum, threw it on him.<sup>2</sup> And Hermes, wearing the helmet of Hades,<sup>3</sup> slew Hippolytus in the fight, and Artemis slew Gration. And the Fates, fighting with brazen clubs, killed Agrius and Thoas. The other giants Zeus smote and destroyed with thunderbolts and all of them Hercules shot with arrows as they were dying.

27

When the gods had overcome the giants, Earth, still more enraged, had intercourse with Tartarus and brought forth Typhon in Cilicia,<sup>4</sup> a hybrid between man and beast. In size and strength he surpassed all the offspring of Earth. As far as the thighs he was of human shape and of such prodigious bulk that he out-topped all the mountains, and his head often brushed the stars. One of his hands reached out to the west and the other to the east, and from

who had attempted her chastity. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, ii. 28, p. 24, ed. Potter; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 355; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 23. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Strabo, x. 5. 16, p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> The helmet of Hades was thought to render the wearer invisible. Compare Homer, *Iliad*, v. 844 sq.; Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 226 sq.

<sup>4</sup> As to Typhon, or Typhoeus, as he is also called, who was especially associated with the famous Corycian cave in Cilicia, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 820 sqq.; Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 15 sqq.; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincetus*, 351 sqq.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 321 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152; Mela, i. 76, ed. G. Parthey; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 4, 29, 92 (First Vatican Mythographer, 11 and 86; Second Vatican Mythographer, 53). As to the Corycian cave, see *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 152 sqq. According to Hesiod (*Theog.* 821), Typhoeus was the youngest child of Earth.

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δὲ ἐξείχον ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ δρακόντων. τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ μηρῶν σπείρας εἶχεν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐχιδνῶν, ὧν ὄλκοι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκτεινόμενοι κορυφὴν συριγμὸν πολὺν ἐξίεσαν. πᾶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατεπτέρωτο, αὐχμηραὶ δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς καὶ γενυῶν τρίχες ἐξηνέμωντο, πῦρ δὲ ἐδέρκετο τοῖς ὄμμασι. τοιοῦτος ὦν ὁ Τυφὼν καὶ τηλικούτος ἡμμένας βάλλων πέτρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν μετὰ συριγμῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ βοῆς ἐφέρετο· πολλὴν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πυρὸς ἐξέβρασσε ζάλην. θεοὶ δ' ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ὀρμώμενον, εἰς Αἴγυπτον φυγάδες ἐφέροντο, καὶ διωκόμενοι τὰς ιδέας μετέβαλον<sup>1</sup> εἰς ζῶα. Ζεὺς δὲ πόρρω μὲν ὄντα Τυφῶνα ἔβαλλε κεραυνοῖς, πλησίον δὲ γενόμενον ἀδαμαντίνῃ κατέπληττεν<sup>2</sup> ἄρπη, καὶ φεύγοντα ἄχρι τοῦ Κασίου ὄρους συνεδίωξε· τοῦτο δὲ ὑπέρκειται Συρίας. κείθι δὲ αὐτὸν κατατετρωμένον ἰδὼν εἰς χεῖρας συνέβαλε. Τυφὼν δὲ ταῖς σπείραις περιπλεχθεὶς κατέσχευεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἄρπην περιελόμενος τὰ τε τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέτεμε νεῦρα, ἀράμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διεκόμισεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Κιλικίαν<sup>3</sup> καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον κατέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα κρύψας ἐν ἄρκτου δορᾷ κείθι ἀπέθετο, καὶ κατέστησε φύλακα<sup>4</sup> Δελφύνην δράκαιναν· ἡμίθηρ δὲ ἦν αὕτη ἢ κόρη. Ἐρμῆς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> μετέβαλον E: μετέβαλλον A.

<sup>2</sup> κατέπληττεν E: κατέπτησεν A: κατέπτησεν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: κατέπτηξεν Bekker: κατέπλησεν Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> Κιλικίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Σικελίαν AE.

<sup>4</sup> κατέστησε φύλακα E: κατέστησε A: <φύλακα> κατέστησε Bekker, Hercher.

them projected a hundred dragons' heads. From the thighs downward he had huge coils of vipers, which when drawn out, reached to his very head and emitted a loud hissing. His body was all winged<sup>1</sup>: unkempt hair streamed on the wind from his head and cheeks; and fire flashed from his eyes. Such and so great was Typhon when, hurling kindled rocks, he made for the very heaven with hissings and shouts, spouting a great jet of fire from his mouth. But when the gods saw him rushing at heaven, they made for Egypt in flight, and being pursued they changed their forms into those of animals.<sup>2</sup> However Zeus pelted Typhon at a distance with thunderbolts, and at close quarters struck him down with an adamant sickle, and as he fled pursued him closely as far as Mount Casius, which overhangs Syria. There, seeing the monster sore wounded, he grappled with him. But Typhon twined about him and gripped him in his coils, and wresting the sickle from him severed the sinews of his hands and feet, and lifting him on his shoulders carried him through the sea to Cilicia and deposited him on arrival in the Corycian cave. Likewise he put away the sinews there also, hidden in a bearskin, and he set to guard them the she-dragon Delphyne, who was a half-bestial maiden. But Hermes and Aegipan stole the sinews

<sup>1</sup> Or "feathered." But Antoninus Liberalis (*Transform.* 28) speaks of Typhon's numerous wings.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 319 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 152; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 29 (First Vatican Mythographer, 86). The story of the transformation of the gods into beasts in Egypt was probably invented by the Greeks to explain the Egyptian worship of animals, as Lucian shrewdly perceived (*De sacrificiis*, 14).

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καὶ Αἰγίπαιον ἐκκλέψαντες τὰ νεῦρα ἤρμισαν τῷ Διὶ λαθόντες. Ζεὺς δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀνακομισόμενος ἰσχύν, ἐξαίφνης ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πτηνῶν ὀχούμενος ἵππων ἄρματι, βάλλων κεραυνοῖς ἐπ' ὄρος ἐδίωξε Τυφῶνα τὸ λεγόμενον Νῦσαν, ὅπου μοῖραι αὐτὸν διωχθέντα ἠπάτησαν· πεισθεῖς γὰρ ὅτι ῥωσθήσεται μᾶλλον, ἐγέυσατο τῶν ἐφημέρων καρπῶν. διόπερ ἐπιδιωκόμενος αὐθις ἤκεν εἰς Θράκην, καὶ μαχόμενος περὶ τὸν Αἴμον ὅλα ἔβαλλεν ὄρη. τούτων δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κεραυνοῦ πάλιν ὠθουμένων πολὺ ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἐξέκλυσεν αἷμα· καὶ φασιν ἐκ τούτου τὸ ὄρος κληθῆναι Αἴμον. φεύγειν δὲ ὄρμηθέντι αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> διὰ τῆς Σικελικῆς θαλάσσης Ζεὺς ἐπέριψεν Αἴττην ὄρος ἐν Σικελίᾳ· τούτο δὲ ὑπερμέγεθές ἐστιν, ἐξ οὗ μέχρι δεῦρό φασιν ἀπὸ τῶν βληθέντων κεραυνῶν γίνεσθαι πυρὸς ἀναφυσθήματα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο ἡμῖν λελέχθω.

VII. Προμηθεὺς δὲ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπους πλάσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πῦρ, λάθρα Διὸς ἐν νάρθηκι κρύψας. ὡς δὲ ἤσθητο Ζεὺς, ἐπέταξεν

<sup>1</sup> ὄρμηθέντι αὐτῷ E : ὄρμηθέντος αὐτοῦ A.

<sup>1</sup> According to Nonnus (*Dionys.* i. 481 sqq.), it was Cadmus who, disguised as a shepherd, wheedled the severed sinews of Zeus out of Typhon by pretending that he wanted them for the strings of a lyre, on which he would play ravishing music to the monster. The barbarous and evidently very ancient story seems to be alluded to by no other Greek writers.

<sup>2</sup> This story of the deception practised by the Fates on Typhon seems to be otherwise unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Haemus, from *haima* (blood); hence "the Bloody Mountain." It is said that a city of Egypt received the same name for the same reason (Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἡρώ).

and fitted them unobserved to Zeus.<sup>1</sup> And having recovered his strength Zeus suddenly from heaven, riding in a chariot of winged horses, pelted Typhon with thunderbolts and pursued him to the mountain called Nysa, where the Fates beguiled the fugitive; for he tasted of the ephemeral fruits in the persuasion that he would be strengthened thereby.<sup>2</sup> So being again pursued he came to Thrace, and in fighting at Mount Haemus he heaved whole mountains. But when these recoiled on him through the force of the thunderbolt, a stream of blood gushed out on the mountain, and they say that from that circumstance the mountain was called Haemus.<sup>3</sup> And when he started to flee through the Sicilian sea, Zeus cast Mount Etna in Sicily upon him. That is a huge mountain, from which down to this day they say that blasts of fire issue from the thunderbolts that were thrown.<sup>4</sup> So much for that subject.

VII. Prometheus moulded men out of water and earth<sup>5</sup> and gave them also fire, which, unknown to Zeus, he had hidden in a stalk of fennel.<sup>6</sup> But when

<sup>4</sup> As to Typhon under Mount Etna see Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincitus*, 363 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Pyth.* i. 17 (32) *sqq.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 491 *sq.*, *Metamorph.* v. 352 *sq.*

<sup>5</sup> As to the creation of the human race by Prometheus, compare Philemon in Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, ii. 27; Pausanias, x. 4. 4; Lucian, *Dialogi deorum*, i. 1; Libanius, *Orat.* xxv. 31, vol. ii. p. 552, ed. R. Foerster; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 82 *sqq.*; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 35. It is to be observed that in the earliest versions of the legend (Hesiod, *Theog.* 510 *sqq.*, *Works and Days*, 48 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincitus*) Prometheus appears only as the benefactor, not the creator, of mankind.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 50 *sqq.*, *Theog.* 565 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Vincitus*, 107 *sqq.*; Plato, *Protagoras*, II, p. 321; Hyginus, *Fab.* 144; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 15. According to Servius (on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42), Prometheus



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Ἡφαίστω τῷ Καυκάσῳ ὄρει τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ προσηλωσαι· τοῦτο δὲ Σκυθικὸν ὄρος ἐστίν. ἐν δὴ τούτῳ προσηλωθεὶς Προμηθεὺς πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐδέδετο· καθ' ἐκάστην δὲ ἡμέραν ἀετὸς ἐπιπτάμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς λοβοὺς ἐνέμετο τοῦ ἥπατος ἀύξανομένου<sup>1</sup> διὰ νυκτός. καὶ Προμηθεὺς μὲν πυρὸς κλαπέντος δίκην ἔτινε ταύτην, μέχρις Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸν ὕστερον ἔλυσεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς καθ' Ἡρακλέα δηλώσομεν.

- 2 Προμηθέως δὲ παῖς Δευκαλίων ἐγένετο. οὗτος βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ τὴν Φθίαν τόπων γαμῆ Πύρραν τὴν Ἐπιμηθέως καὶ Πανδώρας, ἣν ἔπλασαν θεοὶ πρῶτην γυναῖκα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαι Ζεὺς

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἥπατος ἀύξανομένου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: τῶν ἡπάτων ἀύξανομένων AE, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

stole the fire by applying a torch to the sun's wheel. Stories of the original theft of fire are widespread among mankind. See Appendix, "Myths of the Origin of Fire." The plant (*νάρθηξ*) in which Prometheus is said to have carried the stolen fire is commonly identified with the giant fennel (*Ferula communis*). See L. Whibley, *Companion to Greek Studies*<sup>3</sup> (Cambridge, 1916), p. 67. Tournefort found the plant growing abundantly in Skinosa, the ancient Schinussa, a small deserted island south of Naxos (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* iv. 68). He describes the stalk as about five feet high and three inches thick, with knots and branches at intervals of about ten inches, the whole being covered with a tolerably hard rind. "This stalk is filled with a white pith, which, being very dry, catches fire just like a wick; the fire keeps alight perfectly in the stalk and consumes the pith only gradually, without damaging the rind; hence people use this plant to carry fire from one place to another; our sailors laid in a supply of it. This custom is of great antiquity, and may serve to explain a passage in Hesiod, who, speaking of the fire which Prometheus stole from heaven, says that he carried it away in a stalk of fennel." He tells us, further, that the Greeks still call the plant *nartheca*. See P. de Tournefort,

Zeus learned of it, he ordered Hephaestus to nail his body to Mount Caucasus, which is a Scythian mountain. On it Prometheus was nailed and kept bound for many years. Every day an eagle swooped on him and devoured the lobes of his liver, which grew by night. That was the penalty that Prometheus paid for the theft of fire until Hercules afterwards released him, as we shall show in dealing with Hercules.<sup>1</sup>

And Prometheus had a son Deucalion.<sup>2</sup> He reigning in the regions about Phthia, married Pyrrha, the daughter of Epimetheus and Pandora, the first woman fashioned by the gods.<sup>3</sup> And when Zeus would

*Relation d'un Voyage du Levant* (Amsterdam, 1718), i. 93. The plant is common all over Greece, and may be seen in particular abundance at Phalerum, near Athens. See W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus* (London, 1858), p. 111; J. Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* (Innsbruck, 1890), p. 231. In Naxos Mr. J. T. Bent saw orange gardens divided by hedges of tall reeds, and he adds: "In Lesbos this reed is still called *ὑδρόκηκα* (*ὑδρόκηξ*), a survival of the old word for the reed by which Prometheus brought down fire from heaven. One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out." See J. Theodore Bent, *The Cyclades* (London, 1885), p. 365. Perhaps Bent mistook fennel for a reed. The rationalistic Diodorus Siculus explained the myth of the theft of fire by saying that Prometheus was the inventor of the fire-sticks, by the friction of which against each other fire is kindled. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 67. 2. But Greek tradition attributed the invention of fire-sticks to Hermes. See the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, 108 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> As to the release of Prometheus, see ii. 5. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The whole of the following account of Deucalion and Pyrrha is quoted, with a few trifling verbal changes, by the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, i. 126, who cites Apollodorus as his authority.

<sup>3</sup> As to the making of Pandora, see Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 60 sqq., *Theog.* 571 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 142.

## APOLLODORUS

τὸ χαλκοῦν ἠθέλησε<sup>1</sup> γένος, ὑποθεμένου Προμηθέως Δευκαλίων τεκτηνάμενος λάρνακα, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνθέμενος, εἰς ταύτην μετὰ Πύρρας εἰσέβη.<sup>2</sup> Ζεὺς δὲ πολὺν ὑετὸν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ χέας τὰ πλεῖστα μέρη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κατέκλυσεν, ὥστε διαφθαρῆναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὀλίγων χωρὶς οἱ συνέφυγον<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὰ πλησίον ὑψηλὰ ὄρη. τότε δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν ὄρη διέστη, καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ Πελοποννήσου συνεχέθη<sup>4</sup> πάντα. Δευκαλίων δὲ ἐν τῇ λάρνακι διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης φερόμενος <ἐφ'> ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ νύκτας <τὰς> ἴσας τῷ Παρνασσῷ προσίσχει, καὶ κεῖ τῶν ὄμβρων παύλαν λαβόντων ἐκβὰς θύει Διὶ φυξίῳ. Ζεὺς δὲ πέμψας Ἑρμῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπέτρεψεν αἰρεῖσθαι<sup>5</sup> ὅ τι βούλεται· ὁ δὲ αἰρεῖται ἀνθρώπους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι. καὶ Διὸς εἰπόντος ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἔβαλλεν αἴρων λίθους, καὶ οὓς μὲν ἔβαλε Δευκαλίων, ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο, οὓς δὲ Πύρρα, γυναῖκες. ὅθεν καὶ λαοὶ μεταφορικῶς ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ λᾶας ὁ λίθος.

✓ Γίνονται δὲ ἐκ Πύρρας Δευκαλίωνι παῖδες

ἠθέλησε E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126 (citing Apollodorus): ἤθελε A.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσέβη A: εἰσέβη E: ἐνέβη Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126.

<sup>3</sup> συνέφυγον E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126; συνεφύτων R<sup>a</sup>: συνεφοίτων A.

<sup>4</sup> συνεχέθη A, Westermann, Bekker: συνεχύθη Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner. But the passive aorist *συνεχέθη* of *χέω* is recognized by the *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *χέω*, p. 809, 46, and rightly defended by Lobeck, *Phrynichus*, pp. 731 sq.

<sup>5</sup> αἰρεῖσθαι E: αἰτεῖσθαι A, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 126: ἐλέσθαι Hercher.

destroy the men of the Bronze Age, Deucalion by the advice of Prometheus constructed a chest,<sup>1</sup> and having stored it with provisions he embarked in it with Pyrrha. But Zeus by pouring heavy rain from heaven flooded the greater part of Greece, so that all men were destroyed, except a few who fled to the high mountains in the neighbourhood. It was then that the mountains in Thessaly parted, and that all the world outside the Isthmus and Peloponnesus was overwhelmed. But Deucalion, floating in the chest over the sea for nine days and as many nights, drifted to Parnassus, and there, when the rain ceased, he landed and sacrificed to Zeus, the god of Escape. And Zeus sent Hermes to him and allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose to get men. And at the bidding of Zeus he took up stones and threw them over his head, and the stones which Deucalion threw became men, and the stones which Pyrrha threw became women. Hence people were called metaphorically people (*laos*) from *laas*, "a stone."<sup>2</sup>

And Deucalion had children by Pyrrha, first

<sup>1</sup> As to Deucalion's flood, see Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 12 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 125-415; Hyginus, *Fab.* 153; Servius, on Virgil, *Eclog.* vi. 41; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 57 sq., 99 (First Vatican Mythographer, 189; Second Vatican Mythographer, 73); *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 146 sqq. Another person who is said to have escaped alive from the flood was a certain Cerambus: the story ran that the nymphs wafted him aloft on wings over the Thessalian mountains. See Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 353 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 41 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 153.

## APOLLODORUS

"Ἐλλην μὲν πρῶτος, ὃν ἐκ Διὸς γεγεννήσθαι<sup>1</sup>  
 <ἔνιοι> λέγουσι, <δεύτερος δὲ><sup>2</sup> Ἀμφικτύων ὁ  
 μετὰ Κραναὸν βασιλεύσας τῆς Ἀττικῆς, θυγάτηρ  
 3 δὲ Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Διὸς Ἀέθλιος. "Ἐλ-  
 ληνος δὲ καὶ νύμφης Ὀρσηίδος<sup>3</sup> Δῶρος Ξοῦθος  
 Αἴολος. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς καλου-  
 μένους Γραικοὺς προσηγόρευσεν Ἕλληνας, τοῖς δὲ  
 παισὶν ἐμέρισε τὴν χώραν· καὶ Ξοῦθος μὲν λαβὼν  
 τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκ Κρεούσης τῆς Ἐρεχθέως  
 Ἀχαιοὺν ἐγέννησε καὶ Ἴωνα, ἀφ' ὧν Ἀχαιοὶ καὶ  
 Ἴωνες καλοῦνται, Δῶρος δὲ τὴν πέραν χώραν  
 Πελοποννήσου λαβὼν τοὺς κατοίκους ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 Δωριεῖς ἐκάλεσεν, Αἴολος δὲ βασιλεύων τῶν περὶ  
 τὴν Θεσσαλίαν τόπων τοὺς ἐνοικούντας Αἰολεῖς  
 προσηγόρευσε, καὶ γῆμας Ἐναρέτην τὴν Δηιμάχου  
 παῖδας μὲν ἐγέννησεν ἑπτὰ, Κρηθεά Σίσυφον  
 Ἀθάμαντα Σαλμωνέα Δηιόνα Μάγνητα Περιήρην,  
 θυγατέρας δὲ πέντε, Κανάκην Ἀλκυόνην Πεισι-  
 δίκην Καλύκην Περιμήδην.

Περιμήδης μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἀχελῷου Ἴπποδάμας  
 καὶ Ὀρέστης, Πεισιδίκης δὲ καὶ Μυρμιδόνος  
 4 Ἀντιφος καὶ Ἀκτωρ. Ἀλκυόνην δὲ Κῆνξ ἔγημεν

<sup>1</sup> γεγεννήσθαι A, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiii. 307 (citing Apollodorus): γεγενῆσθαι R<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ἔνιοι . . . δεύτερος δὲ in Scholiast on Homer, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> ὀρσηίδος PR<sup>c</sup>: ὀρειάδος Heyne: ὀθηρίδος Scholiast on Plato, *Sympos.* p. 208 D, Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> This passage as to the children of Deucalion is quoted by the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, xiii. 307, who names Apollodorus as his authority.

<sup>2</sup> As to Hellen and his sons, see Strabo, viii. 7. 1, p. 383; Pausanias, vii. 1. 2; Conon, *Narrat.* 27. According to the Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, i. 2, Xuthus was a son of Aeolus.

Hellen, whose father some say was Zeus, and second Amphictyon, who reigned over Attica after Cranaus; and third a daughter Protogonia, who became the mother of Aethlius by Zeus.<sup>1</sup> Hellen had Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus<sup>2</sup> by a nymph Orseis. Those who were called Greeks he named Hellenes after himself,<sup>3</sup> and divided the country among his sons. Xuthus received Peloponnese and begat Achaeus and Ion by Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus, and from Achaeus and Ion the Achaeans and Ionians derive their names. Dorus received the country over against Peloponnese and called the settlers Dorians after himself.<sup>4</sup> Aeolus reigned over the regions about Thessaly and named the inhabitants Aeolians.<sup>5</sup> He married Enarete, daughter of Deimachus, and begat seven sons, Cretheus, Sisyphus, Athamas, Salmoneus, Deion, Magnes, Perieres, and five daughters, Canace, Alcyone, Pisidice, Calyce, Perimede.<sup>6</sup>

Perimede had Hippodamas and Orestes by Acheolus; and Pisidice had Antiphus and Actor by Myrmidon. Alcyone was married by Ceyx, son of Lucifer.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to the Parian Chronicle, the change of the national name from Greeks (*Graikoi*) to Hellenes took place in 1521 B.C. See *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 542 sq. Compare Aristotle, *Meteorologica*, i. 14, p. 352; *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 239, s.v. Γραικός; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Γραικός; Pausanias, iii. 20. 6, with my note; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 160.

<sup>4</sup> As to the early seats of the Dorians, see Herodotus, i. 56.

<sup>5</sup> As to the Aeolians of Thessaly, compare Pausanias, x. 8. 4; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 2.

<sup>6</sup> As to Aeolus, his descendants, and their settlements, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 2-7; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 107 (190).

<sup>7</sup> According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* xi. 271 sq.), Ceyx reflected his father's brightness in his face.

## APOLLODORUS

Ἐωσφόρου παῖς. οὗτοι δὲ δι' ὑπερηφάνειαν ἀπώλοντο· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα ἔλεγεν Ἦραν, ἥ δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα Δία, Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπωρνέωσε, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλκυόνα ἐποίησε τὸν δὲ κήκυκα.

Κανάκη δὲ ἐγέννησεν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος Ὀπλέα καὶ Νιρέα καὶ Ἐπωπέα καὶ Ἀλωέα καὶ Τρίοπα. Ἀλωεύς μὲν οὖν ἔγημεν Ἴφιμέδειαν τὴν Τρίοπος, ἥτις Ποσειδῶνος ἠράσθη, καὶ συνεχῶς φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, χερσὶν ἀρυομένη τὰ κύματα τοῖς κόλποις ἐνεφόρει. συνελθὼν δὲ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Ὀτον καὶ Ἐφιάλτην, τοὺς Ἀλωάδας λεγομένους. οὗτοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἠΰξανον πλάτος μὲν πηχναῖον μῆκος δὲ ὀργυιαῖον· ἐννέα δὲ ἐτῶν γενόμενοι, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλάτος πηχῶν ἔχοντες ἐννέα τὸ δὲ μέγεθος ὀργυιῶν ἐννέα, πρὸς θεοὺς<sup>2</sup> μάχεσθαι διανοοῦντο, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ὅσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἔθεσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ὅσσαν θέντες τὸ Πήλιον διὰ τῶν ὀρῶν τούτων ἠπείλουν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναβήσεσθαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν θάλασσαν χώσαντες τοῖς ὄρεσι ποιήσειν<sup>3</sup> ἔλεγον ἠπειρον, τὴν δὲ γῆν θάλασσαν ἐμνῶντο δὲ Ἐφιάλτης μὲν Ἦραν Ὀτος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν. ἔδησαν δὲ καὶ Ἄρην.

<sup>1</sup> ἐγέννησεν Scaliger, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐποίησεν A. Heyne conjectured ἐκήσεν. <sup>2</sup> θεοὺς E: θεῶν A.

<sup>3</sup> ποιήσειν A: ἐκποιήσειν E, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Birds*, 250; Schol. on *Knax*, *Il.* ix. 562; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776. It may be a reminiscence of an ancient Greek custom, according to which kings are said to have been regulated. See J. Tzetzes, *Antehomerica*, 102 sq.; A. B. Cook, "The European Sky-god," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, pp. 299 sqq. See also *Halcyon*, 1; Schol. on Aristophanes, *Metamorph.* xi. 410 sqq., especially 710 sqq.;

These perished by reason of their pride; for he said that his wife was Hera, and she said that her husband was Zeus.<sup>1</sup> But Zeus turned them into birds; her he made a kingfisher (*alcyon*) and him a gannet (*ceyx*).<sup>2</sup>

Canace had by Poseidon Hoplaus and Nireus and Epopeus and Aloeus and Triops. Aloeus wedded Iphimedia, daughter of Triops; but she fell in love with Poseidon, and often going to the sea she would draw up the waves with her hands and pour them into her lap. Poseidon met her and begat two sons, Otus and Ephialtes, who are called the Aloads.<sup>3</sup> These grew every year a cubit in breadth and a fathom in height; and when they were nine years old,<sup>4</sup> being nine cubits broad and nine fathoms high, they resolved to fight against the gods, and they set Ossa on Olympus, and having set Pelion on Ossa they threatened by means of these mountains to ascend up to heaven, and they said that by filling up the sea with the mountains they would make it dry land, and the land they would make sea. And Ephialtes wooed Hera, and Otus wooed Artemis; moreover they put Ares in bonds.<sup>5</sup> However, Hermes Hyginus, *Fab.* 65. The identification of the sea-bird *ceyx* is doubtful. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> As to the Aloads, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 305 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 582 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 28.

<sup>4</sup> This answers to the *ἐννέωποι* of Homer (*Od.* xi. 31), the meaning of which has been disputed. See Merry, on Homer, *Od.* x. 19. Hyginus (*Fab.* 28) understood *ἐννέωποι* in the same way as Apollodorus ("cum essent annorum novem").

<sup>5</sup> They are said to have imprisoned him for thirteen months in a brazen pot, from which he was rescued, in a state of great exhaustion, by the interposition of Hermes. See Homer, *Il.* v. 385 *sqq.* Compare my note, "Ares in the brazen pot," *The Classical Review*, ii. (1888) p. 222.



## APOLLODORUS

τούτον μὲν οὖν Ἑρμῆς ἐξέκλεψεν, ἀνείλε δὲ τοὺς Ἀλωάδας ἐν Νάξῳ Ἄρτεμις δι' ἀπάτης· ἀλλά-  
 ξασα γὰρ τὴν ιδέαυ εἰς ἔλαφον διὰ μέσων<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν  
 ἐπήδησεν, οἱ δὲ βουλόμενοι εὐστοχηῆσαι τοῦ  
 θηρίου<sup>2</sup> ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἠκόντισαν.

5 Καλύκης δὲ καὶ Ἀεθλίου παῖς Ἐνδυμίων γίνε-  
 ται, ὅστις ἐκ Θεσσαλίας Αἰολέας ἀγαγὼν Ἥλιον  
 ᾤκισε. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν τινες ἐκ Διὸς γενέσθαι.  
 τούτου κάλλει διενεγκόντος ἠράσθη Σελήμη, Ζεὺς  
 δὲ αὐτῷ δίδωσιν ὃ βούλεται ἐλέσθαι· ὃ δὲ αἰρεῖται  
 κοιμᾶσθαι διὰ παντὸς ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως μένων.

6 Ἐνδυμίωνος δὲ καὶ νηίδος νύμφης,<sup>3</sup> ἣ ὡς τινες  
 Ἰφιδιάσσης, Αἰτωλός, ὃς ἀποκτείνας Ἄπιον τὸν  
 Φορωνέως καὶ φυγῶν εἰς τὴν Κουρήτιδα χώραν,  
 κτείνας τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους Φθίας καὶ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνος υἱούς, Δῶρον καὶ Λαόδοκον καὶ Πολυποίτην,  
 ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν χώραν Αἰτωλίαν ἐκάλεσεν.

7 Αἰτωλοῦ δὲ καὶ Προνόης τῆς Φόρβου Πλευρῶν  
 καὶ Καλυδῶν ἐγένοντο, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ ἐν Αἰτωλίᾳ  
 πόλεις ὠνομάσθησαν. Πλευρῶν μὲν οὖν γήμας  
 Ξανθίππην τὴν Δώρου παιδα ἐγέννησεν Ἀγήνορα,  
 θυγατέρας δὲ Στερόπην καὶ Στρατονίκην καὶ Λαο-  
 φόντην.<sup>4</sup> Καλυδῶνος δὲ καὶ Αἰολίας τῆς Ἀμυ-  
 θάουος Ἐπικάστη <καὶ> Πρωτογένεια, ἐξ ἧς καὶ  
 Ἄρεος Ὀξύλος. Ἀγήνωρ δὲ ὁ Πλευρῶνος γήμας  
 Ἐπικάστην τὴν Καλυδῶνος ἐγέννησε Πορθάουα

<sup>1</sup> μέσων ER<sup>a</sup>, Hercher, Wagner: μέσον A: μέσου Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> τοῦ θηρίου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: τὸ θηρίον AE, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> ἰδος νύμφης Hercher, Wagner: σηίδος R<sup>a</sup>: σηίδος νύμ-  
 ίδος A.

<sup>4</sup> ὄντην Heyne: Λεοφόντην A: Λεωφόντην Hercher.

rescued Ares by stealth, and Artemis killed the Aloids in Naxos by a ruse. For she changed herself into a deer and leaped between them, and in their eagerness to hit the quarry they threw their darts at each other.<sup>1</sup>

Calyce and Aethlius had a son Endymion who led Aeolians from Thessaly and founded Elis. But some say that he was a son of Zeus. As he was of surpassing beauty, the Moon fell in love with him, and Zeus allowed him to choose what he would, and he chose to sleep for ever, remaining deathless and ageless.<sup>2</sup>

Endymion had by a Naiad nymph or, as some say, by Iphianassa, a son Aetolus, who slew Apis, son of Phoroneus, and fled to the Curetian country. There he killed his hosts, Dorus and Laodocus and Polypoetes, the sons of Phthia and Apollo, and called the country Aetolia after himself.<sup>3</sup>

Aetolus and Pronoe, daughter of Phorbus, had sons, Pleuron and Calydon, after whom the cities in Aetolia were named. Pleuron wedded Xanthippe, daughter of Dorus, and begat a son Agenor, and daughters, Sterope and Stratonice and Laophonte. Calydon and Aeolia, daughter of Amythaon, had daughters, Epicaste and Protogonia, who had Oxylus by Ares. And Agenor, son of Pleuron, married Epicaste, daughter of Calydon, and begat Porthaon and

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 28.

<sup>2</sup> As to Endymion and the Moon, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 57 sq., with the Scholiast; Pausanias, v. 1. 4; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed Westermann, pp. 319 sq., 324; Hyginus, *Fab.* 271. The present passage of Apollodorus is quoted almost verbally by Zenobius, *Cent.* iii. 76, but as usual without mention of his authority. The eternal sleep of Endymion was proverbial. See Plato, *Phaedo*, 17, p. 72 c; Macarius, *Cent.* iii. 89; Diogenianus, *Cent.* iv. 40; Cicero, *De finibus*, v. 20. 55; compare *id.* *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 38. 92.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pausanias, v. 1. 8; Conon, *Narrat.* 14.

## APOLLODORUS

καὶ Δημονίκην, ἧς καὶ Ἄρεος Εὐήνος Μῶλος Πύλος Θεστίος.

- 8 Εὐήνος μὲν οὖν ἐγέννησε Μάρπησσαν, ἣν Ἀπόλλωνος μνηστευομένου Ἴδας ὁ Ἀφαρέως ἤρπασε, λαβὼν παρὰ Ποσειδῶνος ἄρμα ὑπόπτερον. διώκων δὲ Εὐήνος ἐφ' ἄρματος ἐπὶ τὸν Λυκόρμαν ἤλθε ποταμὸν, καταλαβεῖν δ' οὐ δυνάμενος τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἀπέσφαξεν, ἑαυτὸν δ' εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἔβαλε· καὶ καλεῖται Εὐήνος ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπ' ἐκείνου. Ἴδας δὲ εἰς Μεσσήνην παραγίνεται, καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων περιτυχὼν ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν κόρην. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν τῆς παιδὸς γάμων, Ζεὺς διαλύσας ἐπέτρεψε αὐτῇ τῇ παρθένῳ ἐλέσθαι ὅποτέρῳ βούλεται συνοικεῖν· ἣ δὲ δέισασα, ὡς ἂν μὴ γηρώσαν αὐτὴν Ἀπόλλων καταλίπη, τὸν Ἴδαυ εἶλετο ἄνδρα.
- 10 Θεστίῳ δὲ ἐξ Εὐρυθέμιδος τῆς Κλεοβοίας ἐγένοντο θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀλθαία Λήδα Ἵπερμνήστρα, ἄρρενες δὲ Ἴφικλος Εὐῖππος Πλήξιππος Εὐρύπυλος.

Πορθάονος δὲ καὶ Εὐρύτης <τῆς> Ἴπποδάμαντος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Οἰνεὺς Ἄγριος Ἀλκάθοος Μέλας Λευκωπεύς, θυγάτηρ δὲ Στερόπη, ἐξ ἧς καὶ Ἀχελφῶου Σειρήνας γενέσθαι λέγουσιν.

VIII. Οἰνεὺς δὲ βασιλεύων Καλυδῶνος παρὰ

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<sup>1</sup> As to Evenus and Marpessa, see Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 557; Eustathius, on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 40; Hyginus, *Fab.* 242 (who calls Evenus a son of Hercules). According to the first two of these writers, Evenus, like Oenomaus, used to set his daughter's suitors to run a chariot race with him, promising to bestow her on the winner; but he cut off the heads of his vanquished competitors and nailed them to the walls of his house. This seems

Demonice, who had Evenus, Molus, Pylus, and Thestius by Ares.

Evenus begat Marpessa, who was wooed by Apollo, but Idas, son of Aphareus, carried her off in a winged chariot which he received from Poseidon.<sup>1</sup> Pursuing him in a chariot, Evenus came to the river Lycormas, but when he could not catch him he slaughtered his horses and threw himself into the river, and the river is called Evenus after him. But Idas came to Messene, and Apollo, falling in with him, would have robbed him of the damsel. As they fought for the girl's hand, Zeus parted them and allowed the maiden herself to choose which of the two she would marry; and she, because she feared that Apollo might desert her in her old age, chose Idas for her husband.<sup>2</sup>

Thestius had daughters and sons by Eurythemis, daughter of Cleoboea: the daughters were Althaea, Leda,<sup>3</sup> Hypermnestra, and the males were Iphiclus, Evippus, Plexippus, and Eurypylus.

Porthaon and Euryte, daughter of Hippodamas, had sons, Oeneus, Agrius, Alcathous, Melas, Leucopous, and a daughter Sterope, who is said to have been the mother of the Sirens by Achelous.

VIII. Reigning over Calydon, Oeneus was the

to be the version of the story which Apollodorus had before him, though he has abridged it.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 557 (who cites Simonides); Eustathius, on Homer, *l.c.* p. 776; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 561; Pausanias, v. 18. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias (iii. 13. 8) agrees with Apollodorus in saying that Leda was the daughter of Thestius, who was a son of Agenor, who was a son of Pleuron; and he cites the epic poem of Areus as his authority for the genealogy.

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Διονύσου φυτὸν ἀμπέλου πρῶτος<sup>1</sup> ἔλαβε. γήμας δὲ Ἀλθαίαν τὴν Θεστίου γεννᾶ Τοξέα, ὃν αὐτὸς ἔκτεινεν ὑπερπηδήσαντα τὴν τάφρον, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτου Θυρέα καὶ Κλύμενον,<sup>2</sup> καὶ θυγατέρα Γόργην, ἣν Ἀνδραίμων ἔγημε, καὶ Δηιάνειραν, ἣν Ἀλθαίαν λέγουσιν ἐκ Διονύσου γεννήσαι. αὕτη δ' ἠμιόχει καὶ τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἤσκει, καὶ περὶ τῶν γάμων αὐτῆς Ἡρακλῆς πρὸς Ἀχελῶν ἐπά-  
 2 λαισεν. ἐγέννησε δὲ Ἀλθαία παῖδα ἐξ Οἰνέως Μελέαγρον, ὃν ἐξ Ἄρεος γεγεννησθαί φασι. τούτου δ' ὄντος ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ παραγενομένης τὰς μοίρας φασὶν εἰπεῖν, <ὄτι><sup>3</sup> τότε τελευτήσει Μελέαγρος,<sup>4</sup> ὅταν ὁ καιόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχάρας δαλὸς κατακαῆ. τοῦτο ἀκούσασα τὸν δαλὸν ἀνείλετο Ἀλθαία καὶ κατέθετο εἰς λάρνακα. Μελέαγρος δὲ ἀνὴρ ἄτρωτος καὶ γενναῖος γενόμενος τούδε τὸν τρόπον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐτησίῳν καρπῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γενομένων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς

<sup>1</sup> πρῶτος ER<sup>a</sup>: πρῶτα A.

<sup>2</sup> Κλύμεμον Bekker, Wagner (misprint).

<sup>3</sup> ὄτι omitted in AE, but inserted by Diodorus Siculus in the parallel passage, iv. 34. 6.

<sup>4</sup> τελευτήσει Μελέαγρος AE, Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33: τελευτήσειν Μελέαγρον LN.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 129.

<sup>2</sup> So Romulus is said to have killed Remus for leaping over the rising wall of Rome (Livy, i. 7. 2).

<sup>3</sup> See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 5, with the note.

<sup>4</sup> The whole of the following account of the life and death of Meleager is quoted, with a few verbal changes and omissions, by Zenobius (*Cent.* v. 33). The story is told by Bacchylides (*Epinic.* v. 93 sqq.) and, though without any express mention of the burning brand or of Meleager's death, by Homer (*Iliad*, ix. 529-599). Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 270 sqq.;

first who received a vine-plant from Dionysus.<sup>1</sup> He married Althaea, daughter of Thestius, and begat Toxeus, whom he slew with his own hand because he leaped over the ditch.<sup>2</sup> And besides Toxeus he had Thyreus and Clymenus, and a daughter Gorge, whom Andraemon married, and another daughter Deianira, who is said to have been begotten on Althaea by Dionysus. This Deianira drove a chariot and practised the art of war, and Hercules wrestled for her hand with Achelous.<sup>3</sup> Althaea had also a son Meleager,<sup>4</sup> by Oeneus, though they say that he was begotten by Ares. It is said that, when he was seven days old, the Fates came and declared that Meleager should die when the brand burning on the hearth was burnt out. On hearing that, Althaea snatched up the brand and deposited it in a chest.<sup>5</sup> Meleager grew up to be an invulnerable and gallant man, but came by his end in the following way. In sacrificing the firstfruits of

Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 46 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 146). It was made the theme of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. See Aug. Nauck, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*<sup>2</sup> (Leipsic, 1889), pp. 219 sq., 525 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. by A. C. Pearson, ii. 64 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> For the story of the burning brand on which the life of Meleager depended, see also Aeschylus, *Choeph.* 804 sqq.; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 136 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34. 6 sq.; Pausanias, x. 31. 4; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 2; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxvii. vol. ii. p. 231, ed. L. Dindorf; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, ix. 534; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 445-525; Hyginus, *Fab.* 171, 174; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 481; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 47 (First Vatican Mythographer, 146). The story belongs to a widespread class of tales concerned with the "external soul," or the belief that a person's life is bound up with an animal or object outside of his own body. See *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 94 sqq.

## APOLLODORUS

Οἰνεὺς θεοῖς πᾶσι θύων μόνῃς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐξελά-  
 θετο. ἡ δὲ μνηΐσασα κάπρον ἐφῆκεν ἕξοχον  
 μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ, ὃς τὴν τε γῆν ἄσπορον  
 ἐτίθει καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα καὶ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας  
 διέφθειρεν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν κάπρον τοὺς ἀρίστους  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάντας συνεκάλεσε, καὶ τῷ  
 κτείναντι τὸν θῆρα τὴν δорὰν δώσειν ἀριστεῖον  
 ἐπηγγείλατο. οἱ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 κάπρου θῆραν ἦσαν οἷδε· Μελέαγρος Οἰνέως,  
 Δρύας<sup>1</sup> Ἄρεος, ἐκ Καλυδῶνος οὔτοι, Ἴδας καὶ  
 Λυγκεὺς Ἀφαρέως ἐκ Μεσσήνης, Κάστωρ καὶ  
 Πολυδεύκης Διὸς καὶ Λήδας ἐκ Λακεδαιμόνος,  
 Θησεὺς Αἰγέως ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, Ἄδμητος Φέρητος  
 ἐκ Φερῶν, Ἀγκαῖος <καὶ> Κηφεὺς Λυκούργου ἐξ  
 Ἀρκαδίας, Ἰάσων Αἴσονος ἐξ Ἴωλκοῦ, Ἴφικλῆς  
 Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐκ Θηβῶν, Πειρίθους Ἰξίονος ἐκ  
 Λαρίσης, Πηλεὺς Αἰακοῦ ἐκ Φθίας, Τελαμῶν  
 Αἰακοῦ ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, Εὐρυτίων Ἄκτορος ἐκ  
 Φθίας, Ἀταλάντη Σχοινέως ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας, Ἀμ-  
 φιάραιος Οἰκλέους<sup>2</sup> ἐξ Ἀργούς· μετὰ τούτων  
 καὶ οἱ Θεστίου παῖδες. συνελθόντας δὲ αὐτοὺς  
 Οἰνεὺς ἐπὶ ἑννέα ἡμέρας ἐξένισε· τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ  
 Κηφέως καὶ Ἀγκαίου καὶ τινων ἄλλων ἀπαξιούν-  
 των μετὰ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν<sup>3</sup> ἐξίεναι,  
 Μελέαγρος ἔχων γυναῖκα Κλεοπάτραν τὴν Ἴδα  
 καὶ Μαρπήσσης θυγατέρα, βουλόμενος δὲ καὶ ἐξ  
 Ἀταλάντης τεκνοποιήσασθαι, συνηνάγκασεν αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θῆραν μετὰ ταύτης ἐξίεναι. περι-

<sup>1</sup> Δρύας Aegius: πύμας A.

<sup>2</sup> Οἰκλέους Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Ιοκλέους A. Compare A. C. Pearson, *The Fragments of Sophocles*, vol. ii. p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν θῆραν A: τὸν κάπρον F.

the annual crops of the country to all the gods Oeneus forgot Artemis alone. But she in her wrath sent a boar of extraordinary size and strength, which prevented the land from being sown and destroyed the cattle and the people that fell in with it. To attack this boar Oeneus called together all the noblest men of Greece, and promised that to him who should kill the beast he would give the skin as a prize. Now the men who assembled to hunt the boar were these<sup>1</sup>:—Meleager, son of Oeneus; Dryas, son of Ares; these came from Calydon; Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus, from Messene; Castor and Pollux, sons of Zeus and Leda, from Lacedaemon; Theseus, son of Aegeus, from Athens; Admetus, son of Pheres, from Pherae; Ancaeus and Cepheus, sons of Lycurgus, from Arcadia; Jason, son of Aeson, from Iolcus; Iphicles, son of Amphitryon, from Thebes; Pirithous, son of Ixion, from Larissa; Peleus, son of Aeacus, from Phthia; Telamon, son of Aeacus, from Salamis; Eurytion, son of Actor, from Phthia; Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus, from Arcadia; Amphiaraus, son of Oicles, from Argos. With them came also the sons of Thestius. And when they were assembled, Oeneus entertained them for nine days; but on the tenth, when Cepheus and Ancaeus and some others disdained to go a-hunting with a woman, Meleager compelled them to follow the chase with her, for he desired to have a child also by Atalanta, though he had to wife Cleopatra, daughter of Idas and Marpessa. When they surrounded the

<sup>1</sup> For lists of the heroes who hunted the Calydonian boar, see Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 299 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 173.



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στάντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν κάπρον, Ἵτλεὺς<sup>1</sup> μὲν καὶ Ἄγκαϊος ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρὸς διεφθάρησαν, Εὐρυτίωνα δὲ Πηλεὺς ἄκων κατηκόντισε. τὸν δὲ κάπρον πρώτη μὲν Ἀταλάντη εἰς τὰ νῶτα ἐτόξευσε, δεύτερος δὲ Ἀμφιάραος εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· Μελέαγρος δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν κενεῶνα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λαβὼν τὸ δέρας ἔδωκεν Ἀταλάντη. οἱ δὲ Θεστίου παῖδες, ἀδοξοῦντες εἰ παρόντων ἀνδρῶν γυνὴ τὰ ἀριστεῖα λήψεται, τὸ δέρας αὐτῆς<sup>2</sup> ἀφείλοντο, κατὰ γένος αὐτοῖς προσήκειν λέγοντες, εἰ Μελέαγρος λαμβάνειν μὴ προαιροῖτο.

3 ὀργισθεὶς δὲ Μελέαγρος τοὺς μὲν Θεστίου παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ δὲ δέρας ἔδωκε τῇ Ἀταλάντη. Ἀλθαία δὲ λυπηθεῖσα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπώλειᾳ τὸν δαλὸν ἤψε, καὶ ὁ Μελέαγρος ἐξαίφνης ἀπέθανεν.

Οἱ δὲ φασιν οὐχ οὕτω Μελέαγρον τελευτῆσαι, ἀμφισβητούντων δὲ τῆς δορᾶς<sup>3</sup> τῶν Θεστίου παίδων ὡς Ἰφίκλου πρώτου βαλόντος, Κούρησι καὶ Καλυδωνίοις πόλεμον ἐνστήναι, ἐξελθόντος δὲ Μελεάγρου καὶ τινος τῶν Θεστίου παίδων φονεύσαντος Ἀλθαίαν ἀράσασθαι κατ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ ὀργιζόμενον οἴκοι μένειν. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς τείχεσι προσπελαζόντων καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀξιούντων μεθ' ἱκετηρίας βοηθεῖν, μόλις πεισθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς

<sup>1</sup> Ἵτλεὺς Aegius: πύλος A.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1238, and Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 33): αὐτῇ A: αὐτοί E: αὐτὴν Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> δορᾶς Frazer (for δορά compare i. 6. 2 and 3, ii. 1. 2, ii. 4. 10, ii. 5. 1): τῆς θήρας E, Wagner: τῆς θήρας φασί A, Bekker: τοῦ θηρὸς φασί Heyne, Müller: τοῦ θηρὸς Westermann. Hercher omits τῆς θήρας φασί.

boar, Hyleus and Ancaeus were killed by the brute, and Peleus struck down Eurytion undesignedly with a javelin. But Atalanta was the first to shoot the boar in the back with an arrow, and Amphiaraus was the next to shoot it in the eye; but Meleager killed it by a stab in the flank, and on receiving the skin gave it to Atalanta. Nevertheless the sons of Thestius, thinking scorn that a woman should get the prize in the face of men, took the skin from her, alleging that it belonged to them by right of birth if Meleager did not choose to take it. But Meleager in a rage slew the sons of Thestius and gave the skin to Atalanta. However, from grief at the slaughter of her brothers Althaea kindled the brand, and Meleager immediately expired.

But some say that Meleager did not die in that way,<sup>1</sup> but that when the sons of Thestius claimed the skin on the ground that Iphiclus had been the first to hit the boar, war broke out between the Curetes and the Calydonians; and when Meleager had sallied out<sup>2</sup> and slain some of the sons of Thestius, Althaea cursed him, and he in a rage remained at home; however, when the enemy approached the walls, and the citizens supplicated him to come to the rescue, he yielded reluctantly to his wife and sallied forth, and having killed the rest of

<sup>1</sup> The following account of the death of Meleager is substantially that of Homer, *Il.* ix. 529 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> From Calydon, then besieged by the Curetes.

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κτείναντα τῶν Θεστίου παίδων ἀποθανεῖν μαχόμενον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Μελεάγρου θάνατον Ἀλθαία καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἑαυτὰς ἀνήρτησαν, αἱ δὲ θρηνοῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν γυναῖκες ἀπωρνεώθησαν.

- 4 Ἀλθαίας δὲ ἀποθανούσης ἔγνημεν Οἰνεὺς Περίβοιαν τὴν Ἴππονούου. ταύτην δὲ ὁ μὲν γράψας τὴν Θηβαΐδα πολεμηθείσης Ὠλένου λέγει λαβεῖν Οἰνεά γέρας, Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐξ Ὠλένου τῆς Ἀχαίας, ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ Ἴπποστράτου τοῦ Ἀμαρυγκέως, Ἴππόουν τὸν πατέρα πέμψαι πρὸς Οἰνεά πόρρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄντα, ἐντειλάμενον ἀποκτείνειαι.<sup>1</sup>
- 5 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες Ἴππόουν ἐπιγόντα τὴν ἰδίαν θυγατέρα ἐφθαρμένην ὑπὸ Οἰνέως, ἔγκυον αὐτὴν πρὸς τοῦτον ἀποπέμψαι. ἐγεννήθη δὲ ἐκ ταύτης Οἰνεῖ Τυδεύς. Πείσανδρος δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκ Γόργης γενέσθαι λέγει· τῆς γὰρ θυγατρὸς Οἰνεά κατὰ τὴν βούλησιν Διὸς ἐρασθῆναι.

Τυδεὺς δὲ ἀνὴρ γενόμενος γενναῖος ἐφυγαδεύθη, κτείνας, ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν, ἀδελφὸν Οἰνέως Ἀλκάθοον, ὡς δὲ ὁ τὴν Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γεγραφώς, τοὺς Μέλανος παῖδας ἐπιβουλεύοντας Οἰνεῖ, Φηνέα

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκτείνειαι Faber, Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἀποστείλαι A.

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<sup>1</sup> The birds called in Greek *meleagrides*, guinea-fowl (*Numida* sp.). See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 2; Aelian, *De natura animalium*, iv. 42; Ovid, *Metamorph.* viii. 533-546; Hyginus, *Fab.* 174; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 74, xxxvii. 40. Worshipers of Artemis strictly abstained from eating the bird; the reason of the abstention was known to the natives of Leros, one of the Sporades (Aelian, *l.c.*). The birds were kept in the sanctuary of the Maiden (Artemis?) in that island, and were tended by the priests (Athenaeus, p. 655 c). It is said that it was Artemis who turned

the sons of Thestius, he himself fell fighting. After the death of Meleager, Althaea and Cleopatra hanged themselves, and the women who mourned the dead man were turned into birds.<sup>1</sup>

After Althaea's death Oeneus married Periboea, daughter of Hipponous. The author of the *Thebaid* says that when Olenus was sacked, Oeneus received Periboea as a gift of honour; but Hesiod says that she was seduced by Hippostratus, son of Amarynceus, and that her father Hipponous sent her away from Olenus in Achaia to Oeneus, because he dwelt far from Greece, with an injunction to put her to death.<sup>2</sup> However, some say that Hipponous discovered that his daughter had been debauched by Oeneus, and therefore he sent her away to him when she was with child. By her Oeneus begat Tydeus. But Pisander says that the mother of Tydeus was Gorge, for Zeus willed it that Oeneus should fall in love with his own daughter.<sup>3</sup>

When Tydeus had grown to be a gallant man he was banished for killing, as some say, Alcathous, brother of Oeneus; but according to the author of the *Alcmaeonid* his victims were the sons of Melas who had plotted against Oeneus, their names being

the sisters of Meleager into birds by touching them with a rod, after which she transferred them to the island of Leros (Antoninus Liberalis, *l.c.*) On the birds see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford, 1895), pp. 114 *sq.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 35. 1 *sq.*, according to whom Periboea alleged that she was with child by Ares. Sophocles wrote a tragedy on the subject; a few fragments of it remain (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 216 *sqq.*).

<sup>3</sup> Gorge was a daughter of Oeneus. See above, i. 8. 1; Pausanias, x. 38. 5.

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Εὐρύαλον Ὑπέρλαον Ἀντίοχον Εὐμήδη Στέρνοπα  
Ξάνθιππον Σθενέλαον, ὡς δὲ Φερεκύδης φησίν,  
Ὀλευίαν ἀδελφὸν ἴδιον. Ἀγρίου δὲ δίκας ἐπά-  
γοντος αὐτῷ φυγὼν εἰς Ἄργος ἦκε πρὸς Ἀδρασ-  
τον, καὶ τὴν τούτου γήμας θυγατέρα Δηιπύλην  
ἐγέννησε Διομήδη.

Τυδεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας μετ' Ἀδράστου  
στρατευσάμενος ὑπὸ Μελανίππου τρωθεὶς ἀπέ-  
6 θανεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀγρίου παῖδες, Θερσίτης Ὀγχηστός  
Πρόθοος Κελεύτωρ Λυκωπεὺς Μελάνιππος, ἀφε-  
λόμενοι τὴν Οἰνέως βασιλείαν τῷ πατρὶ ἔδοσαν,  
καὶ προσέτι ζῶντα τὸν Οἰνέα καθείρξαντες ἠκί-  
ζοντο. ὕστερον δὲ Διομήδης ἐξ Ἄργους παρα-  
γενόμενος μετ' Ἀλκμαίωνος<sup>1</sup> κρύφα τοὺς μὲν  
Ἀγρίου παῖδας, χωρὶς Ὀγχηστοῦ καὶ Θερσίτου,  
πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν (οὗτοι γὰρ φθάσαντες εἰς  
Πελοπόννησον ἔφυγον), τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν, ἐπειδὴ  
γηραιὸς ἦν ὁ Οἰνεύς, Ἀνδραῖμοι τῷ τὴν θυγατέρα  
τοῦ Οἰνέως γήμαντι δέδωκε, τὸν δὲ Οἰνέα εἰς  
Πελοπόννησον ἤγευ. οἱ δὲ διαφυγόντες Ἀγρίου  
παῖδες ἐνεδρεύσαντες περὶ τὴν Τηλέφου ἐστίαν  
τῆς Ἀρκαδίας τὸν πρεσβύτην ἀπέκτειναν. Διο-  
μήδης δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς Ἄργος κομίσας ἔθαψεν  
ἐνθα νῦν πόλις ἀπ' ἐκείνου Οἰνόη καλεῖται, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλκμαίωνος Heyne (comparing Strabo, x. 2. 25, p. 462),  
Bekker, Wagner: Ἀλκμέωνος Hercher: ἄλλου A, Westerman,  
Müller.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, xiv. 122, p. 971 ;  
Scholia on Homer, *Iliad*, xiv. 114, 120 ; *The Fragments of  
Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. iii. p. 38, frag. 799 ; Statius,  
*Theb.* i. 401 *sqq.*, with the commentary of Lactantius Placidus,  
pp. 47 *sq.* ed. R. Jahnke. The accounts differ as to whom  
Tydeus killed, but they agree that he fled from Calydon to

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Pheneus, Euryalus, Hyperlaus, Antiochus, Eumedes Sternops, Xanthippus, Sthenelaus; but as Pherecydes will have it, he murdered his own brother Olenias.<sup>1</sup> Being arraigned by Agrius, he fled to Argos and came to Adrastus, whose daughter Deipyle he married and begat Diomedes.

Tydeus marched against Thebes with Adrastus,<sup>2</sup> and died of a wound which he received at the hand of Melanippus. But the sons of Agrius, to wit, Thersites, Onchestus, Prothous, Celeutor, Lycopeus, Melanippus, wrested the kingdom from Oeneus and gave it to their father, and more than that they mewed up Oeneus in his lifetime and tormented him.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless Diomedes afterwards came secretly with Alcmaeon from Argos and put to death all the sons of Agrius, except Onchestus and Thersites, who had fled betimes to Peloponnese; and as Oeneus was old, Diomedes gave the kingdom to Andraemon who had married the daughter of Oeneus, but Oeneus himself he took with him to Peloponnese. Howbeit, the sons of Thestius, who had made their escape, lay in wait for the old man at the hearth of Telephus in Arcadia, and killed him. But Diomedes conveyed the corpse to Argos and buried him in the place where now a city is called Oenoe after him.<sup>4</sup>

Adrastus at Argos, and that Adrastus purified him from the murder (Eustathius and Scholia on Homer, *U.cc.*) and gave him his daughter to wife. Compare Apollodorus, iii. 6. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See below, iii. 6. 3 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> With this and what follows compare Pausanias, ii. 25. 2; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Acharn.* 418; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 37; Hyginus, *Fab.* 175. The story furnished Euripides with the theme of a tragedy called *Oeneus*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 536 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 25. 2.

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γήμας Αιγιάλειαν τὴν Ἀδράστου, <ἧ> ὡς ἐνιοί φασι τὴν Αἰγιάλέως, ἐπὶ τε Θήβας καὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσε.

IX. Τῶν δὲ Αἰόλου παίδων Ἀθάμας, Βοιωτίας δυναστεύων, ἐκ Νεφέλης τεκνοῖ παῖδα μὲν Φρίξον θυγατέρα δὲ Ἑλλην. αὐτῆς δὲ Ἰνώ γαμεῖ, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ Λέαρχος καὶ Μελικέρτης ἐγένοντο. ἐπιβουλεύουσα δὲ Ἰνώ τοῖς Νεφέλης τέκνοις ἔπεισε τὰς γυναῖκας τὸν πυρὸν φρύγειν. λαμβάνουσαι δὲ κρύφα τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτο ἔπρασσον. γῆ δὲ πεφρυγμένους πυρούς δεχομένη καρπούς ἐτησίους οὐκ ἀνεδίδου. διὸ πέμπων ὁ Ἀθάμας εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς ἀφορίας. Ἰνώ δὲ τοὺς πεμφθέντας ἀνέπεισε λέγειν ὡς εἶη κεχρησμένον παύσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀκαρπίαν, ἐὰν σφαγῇ Διὶ ὁ Φρίξος. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἀθάμας, συναναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν γῆν κατοικούντων, τῷ βωμῷ παρέστησε Φρίξον. Νεφέλη δὲ μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνήρπασε, καὶ παρ' Ἑρμοῦ λαβοῦσα χρυσόμαλλον κριὸν ἔδωκεν, ὑφ'<sup>2</sup> οὐ φερόμενοι δι' οὐρανοῦ γῆν ὑπερέβησαν καὶ θάλασσαν. ὡς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> παύσεσθαι E, Hercher, Wagner : παύσασθαι A.

<sup>2</sup> ὑφ' E : ἐφ' A.

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<sup>1</sup> For the story of Athamas, Phrixus, and Helle, see Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38 ; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 58 ; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Oloids*, 257 ; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 22 ; Eustathius, on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86, p. 667 ; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86 ; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 47 ; Hyginus, *Fab.* 1-3 ; *id.* *Astronomica*, ii. 20 ; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* i. 65 ; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 8, 120 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 23 ; Second Vatican Mythographer, 134). According to Herodotus (vii. 197), it was a rule among the descendants

And having married Aegialia, daughter of Adrastus or, as some say, of Aegialeus, he went to the wars against Thebes and Troy.

IX. Of the sons of Aeolus, Athamas ruled over Boeotia and begat a son Phrixus and a daughter Helle by Nephele.<sup>1</sup> And he married a second wife, Ino, by whom he had Learchus and Melicertes. But Ino plotted against the children of Nephele and persuaded the women to parch the wheat; and having got the wheat they did so without the knowledge of the men. But the earth, being sown with parched wheat, did not yield its annual crops; so Athamas sent to Delphi to inquire how he might be delivered from the dearth. Now Ino persuaded the messengers to say it was foretold that the infertility would cease if Phrixus were sacrificed to Zeus. When Athamas heard that, he was forced by the inhabitants of the land to bring Phrixus to the altar. But Nephele caught him and her daughter up and gave them a ram with a golden fleece, which she had received from Hermes, and borne through the sky by the ram they crossed land and

of Phrixus that the eldest son of the family should be sacrificed (apparently to Laphystian Zeus) if ever he entered the town-hall; hence, to escape the risk of such a fate, many of the family fled to foreign lands. Sophocles wrote a tragedy called *Athamas*, in which he represented the king himself crowned with garlands and led to the altar of Zeus to be sacrificed, but finally rescued by the interposition of Hercules (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 237; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 58; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 1 *sqq.*). These traditions point to the conclusion that in the royal line of Athamas the eldest son was regularly liable to be sacrificed either to prevent or to remedy a failure of the crops, and that in later times a ram was commonly accepted as a substitute for the human victim. Compare *The Dying God*, pp. 161 *sqq.*



## APOLLODORUS

ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν μεταξὺ κειμένην θάλασσαν Σιγείου καὶ Χερρονήσου, ὧλισθεν εἰς τὸν βυθὸν ἡ Ἐλλη, κακεὶ θανούσης αὐτῆς ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἑλλησποντος ἐκλήθη τὸ πέλαγος. Φρίξος δὲ ἦλθεν εἰς Κόλχους, ὧν Αἰήτης ἐβασίλευε παῖς Ἡλίου καὶ Περσηίδος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Κίρκης καὶ Πασιφάης, ἦν Μίνως ἔγημεν. οὗτος αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται, καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων Χαλκιόπην δίδωσιν. ὁ δὲ τὸν χρυσόμαλλον κριὸν Διὶ θύει φυξίω, τὸ δὲ τούτου δέρας Αἰήτη δίδωσιν· ἐκείνος δὲ αὐτὸ περὶ δρῦν ἐν Ἄρεος ἄλσει καθήλωσεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ ἐκ Χαλκιόπης Φρίξω παῖδες Ἄργος Μέλας Φρόντις Κυτίσωρος.

- 2 Ἀθάμας δὲ ὕστερον διὰ μῆνιν Ἦρας καὶ τῶν ἐξ Ἴνου ἐστερήθη παίδων· αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ μανεῖς ἐτόξευσε Λέαρχον, Ἴνῳ δὲ Μελικέρτην μεθ' ἑαυτῆς εἰς πέλαγος ἔρριψεν. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπυρθάνετο τοῦ θεοῦ ποῦ κατοικήσει· χρησθέντος δὲ αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐν ᾧπερ ἂν τόπῳ ὑπὸ ζῶων ἀγρίων ξενισθῆ, πολλὴν χώραν διελθὼν ἐνέτυχε λύκοις προβάτων μοίρας νεμομένοις· οἱ δὲ, θεωρήσαντες αὐτόν, ἅ διηροῦντο ἀπολιπόντες ἔφυγον. Ἀθάμας δὲ κτίσας τὴν χώραν Ἀθαμαντίαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε, καὶ γήμας Θεμιστῶ τὴν Ὑψέως ἐγέννησε Λεύκωνα Ἐρύθριον Σχοινέα Πτῶον.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229; Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86; Eustathius on Homer, *Iliad*, vii. 86, p. 667; *id.* on Homer, *Od.* v. 339, p. 1543; Pausanias, i. 44. 7 *sq.*, ix. 34. 7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 481-542; Hyginus, *Fab.* 4 and 5. Euripides wrote a tragedy, *Ino*, of which a number of fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 482

sea. But when they were over the sea which lies betwixt Sigeum and the Chersonese, Helle slipped into the deep and was drowned, and the sea was called Hellespont after her. But Phrixus came to the Colchians, whose king was Aetes, son of the Sun and of Perseis, and brother of Circe and Pasiphae, whom Minos married. He received Phrixus and gave him one of his daughters, Chalciopé. And Phrixus sacrificed the ram with the golden fleece to Zeus the god of Escape, and the fleece he gave to Aetes, who nailed it to an oak in a grove of Ares. And Phrixus had children by Chalciopé, to wit, Argus, Melas, Phrontis, and Cytisorus.

But afterwards Athamas was bereft also of the children of Ino through the wrath of Hera; for he went mad and shot Learchus with an arrow, and Ino cast herself and Melicertes into the sea.<sup>1</sup> Being banished from Boeotia, Athamas inquired of the god where he should dwell, and on receiving an oracle that he should dwell in whatever place he should be entertained by wild beasts, he traversed a great extent of country till he fell in with wolves that were devouring pieces of sheep; but when they saw him they abandoned their prey and fled. So Athamas settled in that country and named it Athamantia after himself;<sup>2</sup> and he married Themisto, daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leucon, Erythrius, Schoeneus, and Ptous.

*sqq.* It is said that Hera drove Athamas mad because she was angry with him for receiving from Hermes the infant Dionysus and bringing him up as a girl. See Apollodorus, iii. 4. 3; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Scholiast on Plato, *Minos*, p. 315c; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 22; *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. 'Αθαμαντία, p. 24. 10. According to the last of these writers, Athamantia was a plain in Thessaly.

## APOLLODORUS

- 3 Σίσυφος δὲ ὁ Αἰόλου κτίσας Ἐφύραν τὴν νῦν λεγομένην Κόρινθον γαμῆι Μερόπην τὴν Ἄτλαντος. ἐξ αὐτῶν παῖς γίνεται Γλαῦκος, ᾧ παῖς Βελλεροφόντης ἐξ Εὐρυμέδης ἐγεννήθη, ὃς ἔκτεινε τὴν πυρίπνου Χίμαιραν. κολάζεται δὲ Σίσυφος ἐν Ἄιδου πέτρῳ ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ κυλίῳν, καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν θέλων οὗτος δὲ ὠθούμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὠθειῖται πάλιν εἰς τοῦπίσω. τίνει δὲ ταύτην τὴν δίκην διὰ τὴν Ἄσωπὸς θυγατέρα Αἴγιαν· ἀρπάσαντα γὰρ αὐτὴν κρύφα Δία Ἄσωπῷ μνηῦσαι ζητοῦντι λέγεται.
- 4 Δηιῶν δὲ βασιλεύων τῆς Φωκίδος Διομήδην τὴν Ξούθου γαμῆι, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνεται θυγάτηρ μὲν Ἄστροδιά,<sup>1</sup> παῖδες δὲ Αἰνετὸς Ἄκτωρ Φύλακος Κέφαλος, ὃς γαμῆι Πρόκριν<sup>2</sup> τὴν Ἐρεχθέως. αὐθις δὲ ἡ Ἥως αὐτὸν ἀρπάζει ἐρασθεῖσα.
- 5 Περιήρης δὲ Μεσσήνην κατασχὼν Γοργοφόνην τὴν Περσέως ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς Ἀφαρεὺς αὐτῷ καὶ Λεύκιππος καὶ Τυνδάρως ἔτι τε Ἰκάριος παῖδες

<sup>1</sup> Ἄστροδιά Preller (comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 520, Scholiast on Euripides, *Troades*, 9), Hercher, Wagner: Ἄστροπία Α.

<sup>2</sup> Πρόκριν Aegius: πρόκνην Α.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 152 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As to Bellerophon and the Chimera, see Apollodorus, ii. 3. 1, with the note.

<sup>3</sup> As to Sisyphus and his stone, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 593-600. Homer does not say why Sisyphus was thus punished, but Pausanias (ii. 5. 1) and the Scholiast on Homer (*Iliad*, i. 180) agree with Apollodorus as to the crime which incurred this punishment. Hyginus assigns impiety as the cause of his sufferings (*Fab.* 60). The picturesque story of this cunning knave, who is said to have laid Death himself by the heels, so that nobody died till Ares released Death and delivered

And Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, founded Ephyra, which is now called Corinth,<sup>1</sup> and married Merope, daughter of Atlas. They had a son Glaucus, who had by Eurymede a son Bellerophon, who slew the fire-breathing Chimera.<sup>2</sup> But Sisyphus is punished in Hades by rolling a stone with his hands and head in the effort to heave it over the top; but push it as he will, it rebounds backward.<sup>3</sup> This punishment he endures for the sake of Aegina, daughter of Asopus; for when Zeus had secretly carried her off, Sisyphus is said to have betrayed the secret to Asopus, who was looking for her.

Deion reigned over Phocis and married Diomede, daughter of Xuthus; and there were born to him a daughter, Asterodia, and sons, Aenetus, Actor, Phylacus, and Cephalus, who married Procris, daughter of Erechtheus.<sup>4</sup> But afterwards Dawn fell in love with him and carried him off.

Perieres took possession of Messene and married Gorgophone, daughter of Perseus, by whom he had sons, to wit, Aphareus and Leucippus,<sup>5</sup> and Tyndareus,

Sisyphus himself into his clutches (Scholiast on Homer, *Iliad*, vi. 153), was the theme of plays by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 74 *sqq.*, 251, 572; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 184 *sq.* Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, is credited with a play on the same theme, of which a very striking fragment, giving a wholly sceptical view of the origin of the belief in gods, has come down to us. See Sextus Empiricus, ed. Im. Bekker, pp. 402 *sqq.*; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 771 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Compare ii. 4. 7, iii. 15. 1. As to the love of Dawn or Day for Cephalus, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 986 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 3. 1; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 700-713; Hyginus, *Fab.* 189, 270.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pausanias, iv. 2. 2 and 4.

## APOLLODORUS

ἐγένοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ τὸν Περιήρην λέγουσιν οὐκ Αἰόλου παῖδα ἀλλὰ Κυνόρτα<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Ἀμύκλα· διόπερ τὰ περὶ τῶν Περιήρους ἐγγόνων ἐν τῷ Ἀτλαντικῷ γένει δηλώσομεν.

- 6 Μάγνης δὲ<sup>2</sup> γαμεῖ νύμφην νηίδα, καὶ γίνονται αὐτῷ παῖδες Πολυδέκτης<sup>3</sup> καὶ Δίκτυς· οὗτοι Σέριφον ᾤκισαν.<sup>4</sup>
- 7 Σαλμωνεὺς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατῴκει, παραγενόμενος δὲ αὐθις εἰς Ἥλιον ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἔκτισεν. ὑβριστῆς δὲ ὢν καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἐξισούσθαι θέλων διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν ἐκολάσθη· ἔλεγε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν εἶναι Δία, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου θυσίας ἀφελόμενος ἑαυτῷ προσέτασσε θύειν, καὶ βύρσας μὲν ἐξηραμμένας ἐξ ἄρματος μετὰ λεβήτων χαλκῶν σύρων ἔλεγε βροντᾶν, βάλλων δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν αἰθομένας λαμπάδας ἔλεγεν ἀστράπτειν. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κεραυνώσας τὴν κτισθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἠφάνισε πάντας.
- 8 Τυρῶ δὲ ἡ Σαλμωνέως θυγάτηρ καὶ Ἀλκιδίκης παρὰ Κρηθεῖ [τῷ Σαλμωνέως ἀδελφῷ] τρεφομένη ἔρωτα ἴσχει Ἐνιπέως τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπὶ τὰ τούτου ρεῖθρα φοιτῶσα τούτοις ἐπωδύρετο.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Κυνόρτα Aegius: κυνόντου A.

<sup>2</sup> δε. The MSS. add Αἰόλου, which is retained by Müller and Bekker, bracketed by Westermann, and deleted by Hercher and Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> Πολυδέκτης Aegius: πολυδεύκης A.

<sup>4</sup> ᾤκισαν Heyne: ᾤκησαν A.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπωδύρετο Faber, Bekker, Wagner: ἀπωδύρετο A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller: ἐπενήχετο Hercher (comparing Philostratus, *Épist.* 47, ἡ δὲ Τυρῶ τῷ Ἐνιπέϊ ἐπενήξατο).

<sup>1</sup> See below, iii. 10. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68. 1. His city was called

and also Icarus. But many say that Perieres was not the son of Aeolus but of Cynortas, son of Amyclas;<sup>1</sup> so we shall narrate the history of the descendants of Perieres in dealing with the family of Atlas.

Magnes married a Naiad nymph, and sons were born to him, Polydectes and Dictys; these colonized Seriphus.

Salmoneus at first dwelt in Thessaly, but afterwards he came to Elis and there founded a city.<sup>2</sup> And being arrogant and wishful to put himself on an equality with Zeus, he was punished for his impiety; for he said that he was himself Zeus, and he took away the sacrifices of the god and ordered them to be offered to himself; and by dragging dried hides, with bronze kettles, at his chariot, he said that he thundered, and by flinging lighted torches at the sky he said that he lightened. But Zeus struck him with a thunderbolt, and wiped out the city he had founded with all its inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

Now Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus and Alcidice, was brought up by Cretheus, brother of Salmoneus, and conceived a passion for the river Enipeus, and often would she hie to its running waters and utter Salmone. See Strabo, vii. 3. 31 and 32, p. 356; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Σαλμώνη.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 585 sqq. with the commentary of Servius; Hyginus, *Fab.* 61; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 28, 93 (First Vatican Mythographer, 82; Second Vatican Mythographer, 56). In the traditions concerning Salmoneus we may perhaps trace the reminiscence of a line of kings who personated the Sky-god Zeus and attempted to make rain, thunder and lightning by means of imitative magic. See *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 310, ii. 177, 180 sq. Sophocles composed a Satyric play on the subject (*The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 177 sqq.).

## APOLLODORUS

Ποσειδῶν δὲ εἰκασθεὶς Ἐνιπεὶ συγκατεκλίθη αὐτῇ· ἢ δὲ γεννήσασα κρύφα διδύμους παῖδας ἐκτίθησιν. ἐκκειμένων δὲ τῶν βρεφῶν, παριόντων ἵπποφορβῶν<sup>1</sup> ἵππος μία προσαψαμένη τῇ χηλῇ<sup>2</sup> θατέρου τῶν βρεφῶν πέλιόν τι τοῦ προσώπου μέρος ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ ἵπποφορβὸς ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνελόμενος ἔθρεψε, καὶ τὸν μὲν πελιωθέντα Πελίαν ἐκάλεσε, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Νηλέα. τελειωθέντες δὲ ἀνεγνώρισαν τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὴν μητριαν ἀπέκτειναν Σιδηρῶ· κακουμένην γὰρ γνόντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν μητέρα ὄρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτήν, ἢ δὲ φθάσασα εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἥρας τέμενος κατέφυγε,

<sup>1</sup> παριόντων ἵπποφορβῶν MSS. and editors: παρίοντος ἵπποφορβοῦ Hercher. But compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* x. 334, ἐπελθόντες οὖν οἱ ἵπποφορβοὶ ἀνελομενοὶ τε τὰ παιδία ἔτρεφον. On the other hand Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 253, p. 1681, has the singular: τοῦτον μὲν ἵπποφορβὸς ἀνελόμενος κτλ.

<sup>2</sup> θηλῇ A. Wagner ascribes the correction χηλῇ to Aegius; but in his text Aegius reads θηλῇ and translates it so ("mamma casu quodam tetigisset"). Commelinus and Gale read χηλῇ, and so Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the passion of Tyro for the river Enipeus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 235 *sqq.*; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* 13; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68. 3; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 234, p. 1681. Sophocles wrote two plays, both called *Tyro*, on the romantic love and sorrows of this heroine. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 272 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 270 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> As to the exposure and discovery of the twins Pelias and Neleus, see Menander, *Epitrepontes*, 108–116 (*Four Plays of Menander*, ed. E. Capps, pp. 60 *sq.*); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* x. 334; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 253, p. 1681. According to Eustathius and the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* cc.), Pelias was suckled by a mare and Neleus by a bitch. Compare

her plaint to them. But Poseidon in the likeness of Enipeus lay with her,<sup>1</sup> and she secretly gave birth to twin sons, whom she exposed. As the babes lay forlorn, a mare, belonging to some passing horse-keepers, kicked with its hoof one of the two infants and left a livid mark on its face. The horse-keeper took up both the children and reared them; and the one with the livid (*pelion*) mark he called Pelias, and the other Neleus.<sup>2</sup> When they were grown up, they discovered their mother and killed their stepmother Sidero. For knowing that their mother was ill-used by her, they attacked her, but before they could catch her she had taken refuge in the precinct of Hera.<sup>3</sup> However, Pelias cut her down

Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 42. Aristotle says (*Poetics*, 16, p. 1454, b 25) that in Sophocles's play *Tyro* the recognition of the forsaken babes was effected by means of the ark (*σκάφη*) in which they were found. Menander seems to have followed a somewhat different tradition, for he says that the children were found by an old goatherd, and that the token by which they were recognized was a small scrip or wallet (*πηρῖδιον*). The legend of the exposed twins, the children of a divine father by a human mother, who were suckled by animals, reared by a peasant, and grew up to quarrel about a kingdom, presents points of resemblance to the legend of Romulus and Remus; and it has even been suggested that the Greek tale, as dramatized by Sophocles, was the ultimate source of the Roman story, having filtered to the early Roman historian Q. Fabius Pictor through the medium of the Greek historian Diocles of Peparethus, whom Fabius Pictor appears to have followed on this and many other points of early Roman history (Plutarch, *Romulus*, 3). The same word *σκάφη* which Sophocles seems to have applied to the ark in which Pelias and Neleus were exposed, is applied by Plutarch (*l.c.*) to the ark in which Romulus and Remus were exposed. See C. Trieber, "Die Romulussage," *Rheinisches Museum*, N.F. xliii. (1888), pp. 568.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175, who seems to have copied Apollodorus.



## APOLLODORUS

Πελίας δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν βωμῶν αὐτὴν κατέσφαξε,  
 9 καὶ καθόλου διετέλει τὴν Ἥραν ἀτιμάζων. ἑστα-  
 σίασαν δὲ ὕστερον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ Νηλεὺς  
 μὲν ἐκπεσὼν ἦκεν εἰς Μεσσήνην καὶ Πύλον κτίζει,  
 καὶ γαμεῖ Χλωρίδα τὴν Ἀμφίονος, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ  
 γίνεται θυγάτηρ μὲν Πηρώ, ἄρρενες δὲ Ταῦρος  
 Ἀστέριος Πυλάων Δηίμαχος Εὐρύβιος Ἐπίλαος  
 Φράσιος Εὐρυμένης Εὐαγόρας Ἀλάστωρ Νέστωρ  
 Περικλύμενος, ᾧ δὴ καὶ Ποσειδῶν δίδωσι μετα-  
 βάλλειν τὰς μορφάς, καὶ μαχόμενος ὅτε Ἡρακλῆς  
 ἐξεπόρθει Πύλον, γινόμενος ὅτε μὲν λέων ὅτε δὲ  
 ὄφεις ὅτε δὲ μέλισσα, ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους μετὰ τῶν  
 ἄλλων Νηλέως παίδων ἀπέθανεν. ἐσώθη δὲ  
 Νέστωρ μόνος, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Γερηνίοις ἐτρέφετο·  
 ὁς γήμας Ἀναξιβίαν τὴν Κρατιέως θυγατέρας  
 μὲν Πεισιδίκην καὶ Πολυκάστην ἐγέννησε, παῖδας  
 δὲ Περσέα Στράτιχον Ἄρητον Ἐχέφρονα Πεισισ-  
 τρατον Ἀντίλοχον Θρασυμήδην.

10 Πελίας δὲ περὶ Θεσσαλίαν κατ'ὄκει, καὶ γήμας  
 Ἀναξιβίαν τὴν Βίαντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι <sup>1</sup> Φυλομάχην  
 τὴν Ἀμφίονος, ἐγέννησε παῖδα μὲν Ἀκαστον,  
 θυγατέρας δὲ Πεισιδίκην Πελόπειαν Ἴπποθόην  
 Ἀλκηστιν.

11 Κρηθεὺς δὲ κτίσας Ἴωλκὸν γαμεῖ Τυρῶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἔνιοι R, Wagner : ἔνιοι λέγουσι A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 281 *sqq.*; Pausanias, iv. 2. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See below, ii. 7. 3, and compare Homer, *Il.* xi. 690-693, with the Scholia; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xii. 549 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 10. As to Periclymenus, see the verses of Hesiod quoted by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 156, according to whom Periclymenus received from Poseidon the power of turning himself into an eagle, an ant, a bee, or a snake; but Hercules, so says the scholiast, killed him with

on the very altars, and ever after he continued to treat Hera with contumely. But afterwards the brothers fell out, and Neleus, being banished, came to Messene, and founded Pylus, and married Chloris,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Amphion, by whom he had a daughter, Pero, and sons, to wit, Taurus, Asterius, Pylaon, Deimachus, Eurybius, Epilaus, Phrasius, Eurymenes, Evagoras, Alastor, Nestor and Periclymenus, whom Poseidon granted the power of changing his shape. And when Hercules was ravaging Pylus, in the fight Periclymenus turned himself into a lion, a snake, and a bee, but was slain by Hercules with the other sons of Neleus. Nestor alone was saved, because he was brought up among the Gerenians.<sup>2</sup> He married Anaxibia, daughter of Cratieus,<sup>3</sup> and begat daughters, Pisidice and Polycaste, and sons, Perseus, Stratichus, Aretus, Echephron, Pisistratus, Antilochus, and Thrasymedes.

But Pelias dwelt in Thessaly and married Anaxibia, daughter of Bias, but according to some his wife was Phylomache, daughter of Amphion; and he begat a son, Acastus, and daughters, Pisidice, Pelopia, Hippothoe, and Alcestis.<sup>4</sup>

Cretheus founded Iolcus and married Tyro, a blow of his club when he had assumed the form of a fly. According to another account, it was in the form of a bee that Periclymenus was slain by Hercules (Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 285, pp. 1685 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 336). But Ovid (*l.c.*) says that Hercules shot him in the shape of an eagle, and this version is followed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 10). Periclymenus is also reported to have been able to change himself into any animal or tree he pleased (Eustathius, *l.c.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 286).

<sup>3</sup> According to Homer (*Od.* iii. 452), the wife of Nestor was Eurydice, daughter of Clymenus.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175.

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Σαλμωνέως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες Αἴσων Ἄμυθάων Φέρης. Ἄμυθάων μὲν οὖν οἰκῶν Πύλον<sup>1</sup> Εἰδομένην γαμει τὴν Φέρητος, καὶ γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῷ Βίας καὶ Μελάμπους, ὃς ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων διατελῶν, οὔσης πρὸ τῆς οἰκήσεως αὐτοῦ δρυὸς ἐν ἣ φωλεὸς ὄφειν ὑπῆρχεν, ἀποκτεινάντων τῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ὄφεις τὰ μὲν ἔρπετὰ ξύλα συμφορήσας ἔκαυσε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ὄφειν νεοσσούς ἔθρεψεν. οἱ δὲ γενόμενοι τέλειοι παραστάντες<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ κοιμωμένῳ τῶν ὄμων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τὰς ἀκοὰς ταῖς γλώσσαις ἐξεκάθαιρον. ὁ δὲ ἀναστὰς καὶ γενόμενος περιδεὴς τῶν ὑπερπετομένων ὀρνέων τὰς φωνὰς συνίει, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων μαυθάνων προύλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα. προσέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν μαντικήν, περὶ δὲ τὸν Ἄλφειὸν συντυχῶν Ἀπόλλωνι τὸ λοιπὸν ἄριστος ἦν μάντις.

- 12 Βίας δὲ<sup>3</sup> ἐμνηστεύετο Πηρῶ τὴν Νηλέως· ὁ δὲ πολλῶν αὐτῷ μνηστευομένων τὴν θυγατέρα

<sup>1</sup> πύλον E: πύλην A.      <sup>2</sup> παραστάντες E: περιστάντες A.

<sup>3</sup> Βίας δὲ ὁ Ἄμυθάωνος A: the words ὁ Ἄμυθάωνος were condemned as a gloss by Heyne and are omitted by Hercher and Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 258 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175.

<sup>2</sup> As to the mode in which Melampus learned the language of birds, and with it the art of divination, from serpents in return for the kindness which he had shown to their species, see Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 118; compare Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* x. 137. Helenus and Cassandra are said to have acquired their prophetic power in like manner. As children they were left overnight in a temple of Apollo, and in the morning serpents were found licking their ears. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 44; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron, Introd.* vol. i. pp.

daughter of Salmoneus, by whom he had sons, Aeson, Amythaon, and Pheres.<sup>1</sup> Amythaon dwelt in Pylus and married Idomene, daughter of Pheres, and there were born to him two sons, Bias and Melampus. The latter lived in the country, and before his house there was an oak, in which there was a lair of snakes. His servants killed the snakes, but Melampus gathered wood and burnt the reptiles, and reared the young ones. And when the young were full grown, they stood beside him at each of his shoulders as he slept, and they purged his ears with their tongues. He started up in a great fright, but understood the voices of the birds flying overhead, and from what he learned from them he foretold to men what should come to pass.<sup>2</sup> He acquired besides the art of taking the auspices, and having fallen in with Apollo at the Alpheus he was ever after an excellent soothsayer.

Bias wooed Pero, daughter of Neleus.<sup>3</sup> But as there were many suitors for his daughter's hand,

266 *sq.*, ed. C. G. Müller. Porphyry said that perhaps we and all men might have understood the language of all animals if a serpent had washed our ears (*De abstinentia*, iii. 4). In the folk-tales of many lands, men are said to have obtained a knowledge of the language of animals from serpents, either by eating the flesh of serpents or in other ways. See my article, "The Language of Animals," *The Archaeological Review*, i. (1888), pp. 166 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> The following romantic tale of the wooing of Pero is told also by the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 287). It is repeated also in substantially the same form by Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685. Compare Scholiast on Theocritus, iii. 43; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 118; Propertius, ii. 3. 51 *sqq.* A summary of the story, shorn of its miraculous elements, is given by Homer (*Od.* xi. 287-297, xv. 225-238) and Pausanias (iv. 36. 3). See Appendix, "Melampus and the kine of Phylacus."

## APOLLODORUS

δώσειν ἔφη τῷ τὰς Φυλάκου<sup>1</sup> βόας κομί-  
σαντι αὐτῷ. αὐταὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν Φυλάκῃ, καὶ  
κύων ἐφύλασεν αὐτὰς οὐ οὔτε ἄνθρωπος οὔτε  
θηρίου πέλας ἐλθεῖν ἠδύνατο. ταύτας ἀδυνατῶν  
Βίας τὰς βόας κλέψαι παρεκάλει τὸν ἀδελφὸν  
συλλαβέσθαι. Μελάμπους δὲ ὑπέσχετο, καὶ  
προεῖπεν ὅτι φωραθήσεται κλέπτων καὶ δεθεὶς  
ἐνιαυτὸν οὕτω τὰς βόας λήψεται. μετὰ δὲ τὴν  
ὑπόσχεσιν εἰς Φυλάκην ἀπῆει καί, καθάπερ  
προεῖπε, φωραθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κλοπῇ δέσμιος<sup>2</sup> ἐν  
οἰκῆματι ἐφύλασσετο. λειπομένου δὲ τοῦ ἐνι-  
αυτοῦ βραχείος χρόνου, τῶν κατὰ τὸ κρυφαῖον<sup>3</sup>  
τῆς στέγης σκωλήκων ἀκούει, τοῦ μὲν ἐρωτῶντος  
πόσον ἤδη μέρος τοῦ δοκοῦ διαβέβρωται, τῶν δὲ  
ἀποκρινομένων<sup>4</sup> λοιπὸν ἐλάχιστον εἶναι. καὶ  
ταχέως ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν εἰς ἕτερον οἶκημα μετα-  
γαγεῖν, γενομένου δὲ τούτου μετ' οὐ πολὺ συνέ-  
πεσε τὸ οἶκημα. θαυμάσας δὲ Φύλακος, καὶ  
μαθὼν ὅτι ἐστὶ μάντις ἄριστος, λύσας παρεκά-  
λεσεν εἰπεῖν ὅπως αὐτοῦ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰφίκλῳ παῖδες  
γένωνται. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο ἐφ' ᾧ τὰς βόας λή-  
ψεται. καὶ καταθύσας ταύρους δύο καὶ μελίσας  
τοὺς οἰωνοὺς προσεκαλέσατο· παραγενομένου δὲ  
αἰγυπιοῦ, παρὰ τούτου μανθάνει δὴ ὅτι Φύλακος  
ποτε κριοὺς τέμνων ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων<sup>5</sup> παρὰ τῷ  
Ἰφίκλῳ τὴν μάχαιραν ἡμαγμένην ἔτι κατέθετο,  
δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ φυγόντος αὐθις κατὰ  
τῆς ἱεράς δρυὸς αὐτὴν ἔπηξε, καὶ ταύτην ἀμφι-

<sup>1</sup> Φυλάκου A, Westermann, Müller: Ἰφίκλου Aegius, Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> δέσμιος Bekker: δεσμοῖς A.

<sup>3</sup> κρυφαῖον RR<sup>a</sup>B: κορυφαῖον C, PR<sup>c</sup> in the margin: ὀρο-  
φιαῖον Faber, Hercher. <sup>4</sup> ἀποκρινομένων R: ἀποκριναμένων A.

<sup>5</sup> αἰδοίων R: αἰβίων A: ἀγρῶν Heyne, Westermann, Bekker.

Neleus said that he would give her to him who should bring him the kine of Phylacus. These were in Phylace, and they were guarded by a dog which neither man nor beast could come near. Unable to steal these kine, Bias invited his brother to help him. Melampus promised to do so, and foretold that he should be detected in the act of stealing them, and that he should get the kine after being kept in bondage for a year. After making this promise he repaired to Phylace and, just as he had foretold, he was detected in the theft and kept a prisoner in a cell. When the year was nearly up, he heard the worms in the hidden part of the roof, one of them asking how much of the beam had been already gnawed through, and others answering that very little of it was left. At once he bade them transfer him to another cell, and not long after that had been done the cell fell in. Phylacus marvelled, and perceiving that he was an excellent soothsayer, he released him and invited him to say how his son Iphiclus might get children. Melampus promised to tell him, provided he got the kine. And having sacrificed two bulls and cut them in pieces he summoned the birds; and when a vulture came, he learned from it that once, when Phylacus was gelding rams, he laid down the knife, still bloody, beside Iphiclus, and that when the child was frightened and ran away, he stuck the knife on the sacred oak,<sup>1</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> According to the Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xi. 287 and 290) and Eustathius (on Homer, *Od.* xi. 292, p. 1685), the tree was not an oak but a wild pear-tree (*ἀχερδος*).

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τροχάσας<sup>1</sup> ἐκάλυψεν ὁ φλοιός. ἔλεγεν οὖν, εὐρεθείσης τῆς μαχαίρας εἰ ξύων τὸν ἰὸν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα Ἰφίκλω δῶ πιεῖν, παῖδα γεννήσειν. ταῦτα μαθὼν παρ' αἰγυπιοῦ Μελάμπους τὴν μὲν μάχαιραν εὐρε, τῷ δὲ Ἰφίκλω τὸν ἰὸν ξύσας ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δέκα δέδωκε πιεῖν, καὶ παῖς αὐτῷ Ποδάρκης ἐγένετο. τὰς δὲ βόας εἰς Πύλον ἤλασε, καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τὴν Νηλέως θυγατέρα λαβὼν ἔδωκε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τινος ἐν Μεσσηνίᾳ κατώκει, ὡς δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἀργεὶ γυναῖκας ἐξέμηνε Διόνυσος, ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> μέρει τῆς<sup>3</sup> βασιλείας ἰασάμενος αὐτὰς ἐκεῖ μετὰ Βίαντος κατώκησε.

- 13 Βίαντος δὲ καὶ Πηροῦς Ταλαός, οὗ καὶ Λυσιμάχης τῆς Ἄβαντος τοῦ Μελάμποδος Ἄδραστος Παρθενοπαῖος Πρῶναξ Μηκιστεὺς Ἀριστόμαχος Ἐριφύλη, ἦν Ἀμφιάραιος γαμεῖ. Παρθενοπαίου δὲ Πρόμαχος ἐγένετο, ὃς μετὰ τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐστρατεύθη, Μηκιστέως δὲ Εὐρύαλος, ὃς ἦκεν εἰς Τροίαν. Πρῶνακτος δὲ ἐγένετο Λυκοῦργος, Ἄδράστου δὲ καὶ Ἀμφιθέας τῆς Πρῶνακτος θυγατέρες μὲν Ἀργεῖα Δηιπύλη Αἰγιάλεια, παῖδες δὲ Αἰγιαλεὺς <καὶ> Κυάνιππος.
- 14 Φέρης δὲ ὁ Κρηθέως Φερὰς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ κτίσας ἐγέννησεν Ἄδμητον καὶ Λυκοῦργον. Λυκοῦργος μὲν οὖν περὶ Νεμέαν κατώκησε, γήμας δὲ Εὐρυδίκην, ὡς δὲ ἐνιοὶ φασιν Ἀμφιθέαν, ἐγέννησεν Ὀφέλτην <τὸν ὕστερον><sup>4</sup> κληθέντα Ἀρχέμορον. Ἄδμητου δὲ βασιλεύοντος τῶν Φερῶν, ἐθήτευσεν Ἀπόλλων αὐτῷ μνηστευομένῳ τὴν
- 15

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφιτροχάσας R: ἀμφιτροχώσας A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ R: ὑπὸ A.      <sup>3</sup> τῆς R: τοῦ A.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν ὕστερον added by Hercher.

bark encompassed the knife and hid it. He said, therefore, that if the knife were found, and he scraped off the rust, and gave it to Iphiclus to drink for ten days, he would beget a son. Having learned these things from the vulture, Melampus found the knife, scraped the rust, and gave it to Iphiclus for ten days to drink, and a son Podarces was born to him.<sup>1</sup> But he drove the kine to Pylus, and having received the daughter of Neleus he gave her to his brother. For a time he continued to dwell in Messene, but when Dionysus drove the women of Argos mad, he healed them on condition of receiving part of the kingdom, and settled down there with Bias.<sup>2</sup>

Bias and Pero had a son Talaus, who married Lysimache, daughter of Abas, son of Melampus, and had by her Adrastus, Parthenopæus, Pronax, Mecisteus, Aristomachus, and Eriphyle, whom Amphiaras married. Parthenopæus had a son Promachus, who marched with the Epigoni against Thebes;<sup>3</sup> and Mecisteus had a son Euryalus, who went to Troy.<sup>4</sup> Pronax had a son Lycurgus; and Adrastus had by Amphithea, daughter of Pronax, three daughters, Argia, Deipyle, and Aegialia, and two sons, Aegialeus and Cyanippus.

Pheres, son of Cretheus, founded Pheræ in Thessaly and beget Admetus and Lycurgus. Lycurgus took up his abode at Nemea, and having married Eurydice, or, as some say, Amphithea, he beget Opheltus, afterwards called Archemorus.<sup>5</sup> When Admetus reigned over Pheræ, Apollo served him as his thrall,<sup>6</sup> while Admetus

<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollodorus, *Epitome*, iii. 20, with the note.

<sup>2</sup> See below, ii. 2. 2; Diodorus Siculus, ii. 68. 4; Pausanias, ii. 18. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Compare below, iii. 7. 2.

<sup>4</sup> See Homer, *Il.* ii. 565 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See below, iii. 6. 4.

<sup>6</sup> See below, iii. 10. 4.



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Πελίου θυγατέρα Ἄλκηστιν. ἐκείνου<sup>1</sup> δὲ δώσειν ἐπαγγειλαμένου<sup>2</sup> τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ καταζεύξαντι ἄρμα λέοντος καὶ κάπρου,<sup>3</sup> Ἄπόλλων ζεύξας ἔδωκεν· ὁ δὲ κομίσας πρὸς Πελίαν Ἄλκηστιν λαμβάνει. θύων δὲ ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐξελάθετο Ἄρτέμιδι θῦσαι· διὰ τοῦτο τὸν θάλαμον ἀνοίξας εὔρε δρακόντων σπειράμασι<sup>4</sup> πεπληρωμένον. Ἄπόλλων δὲ εἰπὼν ἐξιλάσκεισθαι τὴν θεόν, ἤτησατο παρὰ<sup>5</sup> μοιρῶν ἵνα, ὅταν Ἄδμητος μέλλῃ τελευτᾶν, ἀπολυθῆ τοῦ θανάτου, ἂν ἐκουσίως τις ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκῃ εἴληται.<sup>6</sup> ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ τοῦ θνήσκῃ ἡμέρα, μήτε τοῦ πατρὸς μήτε τῆς μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θνήσκῃ θελόντων, Ἄλκηστις ὑπεραπέθανε. καὶ αὐτὴν πάλιν ἀνέπεμψεν ἡ Κόρη, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἡρακλῆς <πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεκόμισε><sup>7</sup> μαχεσάμενος Ἄϊδη.

16 Αἴσωνος δὲ τοῦ Κρηθέως καὶ Πολυμήδης τῆς Αὐτολύκου Ἰάσων. οὗτος ὄκει ἐν Ἰωλκῷ, τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνου Heyne, Hercher, Wagner: ἐκείνῳ MSS., Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπαγγειλαμένου. The MSS. add πελλίου (Πελίου), which is deleted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

<sup>3</sup> λέοντος καὶ κάπρου Heyne: λέόντων καὶ κάπρων A.

<sup>4</sup> σπειράμασι Heyne: σπείραμα A.

<sup>5</sup> παρὰ RR<sup>a</sup>: περὶ A.

<sup>6</sup> εἴληται. The MSS. add πατήρ ἢ μήτηρ ἢ γυνή. These words are retained by Westermann and Müller, but omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, following Heyne.

<sup>7</sup> <πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνεκόμισε>. Omitted in the MSS.: restored by Fischer and Wagner from Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 50 and 51.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Persephone.

<sup>3</sup> This pathetic story is immortalized by Euripides in his noble tragedy *Alceste*, happily still extant. Compare

wooded Alcestis, daughter of Pelias. Now Pelias had promised to give his daughter to him who should yoke a lion and a boar to a car, and Apollo yoked and gave them to Admetus, who brought them to Pelias and so obtained Alcestis.<sup>1</sup> But in offering a sacrifice at his marriage, he forgot to sacrifice to Artemis; therefore when he opened the marriage chamber he found it full of coiled snakes. Apollo bade him appease the goddess and obtained as a favour of the Fates that, when Admetus should be about to die, he might be released from death if someone should choose voluntarily to die for him. And when the day of his death came neither his father nor his mother would die for him, but Alcestis died in his stead. But the Maiden<sup>2</sup> sent her up again, or, as some say, Hercules fought with Hades and brought her up to him.<sup>3</sup>

Aeson, son of Cretheus, had a son Jason by Polymede, daughter of Autolytus. Now Jason dwelt in

Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 18, which to a certain extent agrees verbally with this passage of Apollodorus. The tale of Admetus and Alcestis has its parallel in history. Once when Philip II. of Spain had fallen ill and seemed like to die, his fourth wife, Anne of Austria, "in her distress, implored the Almighty to spare a life so important to the welfare of the kingdom and of the church, and instead of it to accept the sacrifice of her own. Heaven, says the chronicler, as the result showed, listened to her prayer. The king recovered; and the queen fell ill of a disorder which in a few days terminated fatally." So they laid the dead queen to her last rest, with the kings of Spain, in the gloomy pile of the Escorial among the wild and barren mountains of Castile; but there was no Hercules to complete the parallel with the Greek legend by restoring her in the bloom of life and beauty to the arms of her husband. See W. H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, bk. vi. chap. 2, at the end.

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δὲ Ἴωλκοῦ Πελίας ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ Κρηθέα, ὃ χρωμένῳ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐθέσπισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν μονοσάνδαλον φυλάσσειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἠγνοεῖ τὸν χρησμόν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερον αὐτὸν ἔγνω. τελῶν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ Ποσειδῶνι θυσίαν<sup>1</sup> ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ πόθῳ γεωργίας ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις διατελῶν ἔσπευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν· διαβαίνων δὲ ποταμὸν Ἄναυρον ἐξῆλθε μονοσάνδαλος, τὸ ἕτερον ἀπολέσας ἐν τῷ ρείθρῳ πέδιλον. θεασάμενος δὲ Πελίας αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν χρησμόν συμβαλὼν ἠρώτα προσελθὼν, τί<sup>2</sup> ἂν ἐποίησεν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, εἰ λόγιον ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς τινος φονευθῆσεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν. ὁ δέ, εἴτε ἐπελθὼν ἄλλως, εἴτε διὰ μῆνιν Ἥρας, ἕν ἔλθοι κακὸν Μήδεια Πελία (τὴν γὰρ Ἥραν οὐκ ἐτίμα), “Τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρας” ἔφη “προσέταπτον ἂν φέρειν αὐτῷ.” τοῦτο Πελίας ἀκούσας εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸ δέρας ἐλθεῖν<sup>3</sup> ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν Κόλχοις ἦν <ἐν> Ἄρεος ἄλσει κρεμάμενον ἐκ δρυός, ἐφρουρεῖτο δὲ ὑπὸ δράκοντος ἀύπνου.

Ἐπὶ τοῦτο πεμπόμενος Ἰάσων Ἄργον παρεκάλεσε τὸν Φρίξου, κάκεινος Ἀθηναῖς ὑποθεμένης

<sup>1</sup> θυσίαν ER, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: θυσίας A.

<sup>2</sup> τί E, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: τίς A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐλθεῖν A, Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92: πλεῖν E.

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<sup>1</sup> For the story of Pelias and Jason, see Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 73 (129) *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 5 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, i. 175; Hyginus, *Fab.* 12 and 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 34; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 516. The present passage of Apollodorus is copied almost literally, but as usual without acknowledgment, by Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92. It was the

Iolcus, of which Pelias was king after Cretheus.<sup>1</sup> But when Pelias consulted the oracle concerning the kingdom, the god warned him to beware of the man with a single sandal. At first the king understood not the oracle, but afterwards he apprehended it. For when he was offering a sacrifice at the sea to Poseidon, he sent for Jason, among many others, to participate in it. Now Jason loved husbandry and therefore abode in the country, but he hastened to the sacrifice, and in crossing the river Anaurus he lost a sandal in the stream and landed with only one. When Pelias saw him, he bethought him of the oracle, and going up to Jason asked him what, supposing he had the power, he would do if he had received an oracle that he should be murdered by one of the citizens. Jason answered, whether at haphazard or instigated by the angry Hera in order that Medea should prove a curse to Pelias, who did not honour Hera, "I would command him," said he, "to bring the Golden Fleece." No sooner did Pelias hear that than he bade him go in quest of the fleece. Now it was at Colchis in a grove of Ares, hanging on an oak and guarded by a sleepless dragon.<sup>2</sup>

Sent to fetch the fleece, Jason called in the help of Argus, son of Phrixus; and Argus, by Athena's advice,

regular custom of Aetolian warriors to go with the left foot shod and the right foot unshod. See Macrobius, *Sat.* v. 18-21, quoting Euripides and Aristotle; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 133. So the two hundred men who broke through the Spartan lines at the siege of Plataea were shod on the left foot only (Thucydides, iii. 22). Virgil represents some of the rustic militia of Latium marching to war with their right feet shod and their left feet bare (*Aen.* vii. 689 *sq.*). As to the custom, see *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 311 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1268-1270, iv. 123 *sqq.* 163.

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πεντηκόντορον ναῦν κατεσκεύασε τὴν προσα-  
 γορευθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Ἀργῶ·  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρῶραν ἐνήρμοσεν Ἀθηνᾶ φωνῆεν<sup>1</sup>  
 φηγοῦ τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλον. ὡς δὲ ἡ ναὺς κατε-  
 σκευάσθη, χρωμένῳ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ πλεῖν ἐπέτρεψε  
 συναθροίσαντι τοὺς ἀρίστους τῆς Ἑλλάδος. οἱ  
 δὲ συναθροισθέντες εἰσὶν οἷδε· Τίφυς Ἀγρίου,<sup>2</sup>  
 ὃς ἐκυβέρνα τὴν ναῦν, Ὀρφεὺς Οἰάγρου, Ζήτης  
 καὶ Κάλαις Βορέου, Κάστωρ καὶ Πολυδεύκης  
 Διός, Τελαμῶν καὶ Πηλεὺς Αἰακοῦ, Ἡρακλῆς  
 Διός, Θησεὺς Αἰγέως,<sup>3</sup> Ἴδας καὶ Λυγκεὺς Ἀφα-  
 ρέως, Ἀμφιάραος Ὀικλέους,<sup>4</sup> Καινεὺς Κορώνου,<sup>5</sup>  
 Παλαιῶν Ἡφαίστου ἢ Αἰτωλοῦ, Κηφεὺς Ἀλεοῦ,  
 Λαέρτης Ἀρκεισίου, Αὐτόλυκος Ἐρμοῦ, Ἀτα-  
 λάντη Σχοινέως, Μενοίτιος Ἄκτορος, Ἄκτωρ  
 Ἰππάσου, Ἀδμητος Φέρητος, Ἀκαστος Πελίου,  
 Εὐρυτος Ἐρμοῦ, Μελέαγρος Οἰνέως, Ἀγκαῖος  
 Λυκούργου, Εὐφημος Ποσειδῶνος, Ποίας Θαυ-  
 μάκου, Βούτης Τελέοντος, Φᾶνος καὶ Στάφυλος  
 Διονύσου, Ἐργίνος Ποσειδῶνος, Περικλύμενος  
 Νηλέως, Αὐγέας Ἡλίου, Ἴφικλος Θεστίου, Ἄρ-  
 γος Φρίξου, Εὐρύαλος Μηκιστέως, Πηνέλεως  
 Ἰππάλμου,<sup>6</sup> Λήιτος Ἀλέκτορος,<sup>7</sup> Ἴφίτος Ναυ-

<sup>1</sup> φωνῆεν ER: φωνῆ A.    <sup>2</sup> Ἀγρίου Aegius: ἀγρίου A.

<sup>3</sup> θησεὺς Αἰγέως Aegius: αἰγέως θησεῶς A.

<sup>4</sup> Ὀικλέους Aegius: ἰοκλέους A.

<sup>5</sup> Καινέως Κόρωνος Aegius: Κόρωνος Καινέως Clavier, Hercher.

<sup>6</sup> Ἰππάλμου A: Ἰππάλκμου Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494:  
 Ἰππαλκίμου Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀλεκτρύονος Homer, *Il.* xvii. 602, with the Scholiast:  
 Ἡλεκτρύονος Diodorus Siculus, iv. 67. 7.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 524 *sqq.*, iv. 580  
*sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175. The following

built a ship of fifty oars named Argo after its builder; and at the prow Athena fitted in a speaking timber from the oak of Dodona.<sup>1</sup> When the ship was built, and he inquired of the oracle, the god gave him leave to assemble the nobles of Greece and sail away. And those who assembled were as follow:<sup>2</sup> Tiphys, son of Hagnias, who steered the ship; Orpheus, son of Oeagrus; Zetes and Calais, sons of Boreas; Castor and Pollux, sons of Zeus; Telamon and Peleus, sons of Aeacus; Hercules, son of Zeus; Theseus, son of Aegeus; Idas and Lynceus, sons of Aphareus; Amphiarauus, son of Oicles; Caeneus, son of Coronus; Palaemon, son of Hephaestus or of Aetolus; Cepheus, son of Aleus; Laertes son of Arcisius; Autolyclus, son of Hermes; Atalanta, daughter of Schoeneus; Menoetius, son of Actor; Actor, son of Hippasus; Admetus, son of Pheres; Acastus, son of Pelias; Eurytus, son of Hermes; Meleager, son of Oeneus; Ancaeus, son of Lycurgus; Euphemus, son of Poseidon; Poeas, son of Thaumacus; Butes, son of Teleon; Phanus and Staphylus, sons of Dionysus; Erginus, son of Poseidon; Periclymenus, son of Neleus; Augeas, son of the Sun; Iphiclus, son of Thestius; Argus, son of Phrixus; Euryalus, son of Mecisteus; Peneleus, son of Hippalmus; Leitus, son of Alector; Iphitus, son of Naubolus;

narrative of the voyage of the Argo is based mainly on the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. As to the voyage of the Argonauts, see further Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 156 (276) *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 40-49; *Orphica, Argonautica*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175; Hyginus, *Fab.* 12, 14-23; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 1 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*.

<sup>2</sup> For lists of the Argonauts, see Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 171 *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 20 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 119 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 352 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

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βόλου, Ἀσκάλαφος καὶ Ἰάλμενος<sup>1</sup> Ἄρεος, Ἀστέριος Κομήτου, Πολύφημος Ἐλάτου.

17 Οὗτοι ναυαρχοῦντος Ἰάσονος ἀναχθέντες προσίσχουσι Λήμνῳ. ἔτυχε δὲ ἡ Λήμνος ἀνδρῶν τότε οὔσα ἔρημος, βασιλευομένη δὲ ὑπὸ Ἐψιπύλης τῆς Θόαντος δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. αἱ Λήμνιαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην οὐκ ἐτίμων· ἡ δὲ αὐταῖς ἐμβάλλει δυσσομίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οἱ γήμαντες αὐτὰς ἐκ τῆς πλησίον Θράκης λαβόντες αἰχμαλωτίδας συνευνάζοντο αὐταῖς. ἀτιμαζόμεναι δὲ αἱ Λήμνιαι τοὺς τε πατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας φονεύουσι· μόνη δὲ ἔσωσεν Ἐψιπύλη τὸν ἑαυτῆς πατέρα κρύψασα Θόαντα. προσσχόντες οὖν τότε γυναικοκρατουμένη τῇ Λήμνῳ μίσγονται ταῖς γυναῖξιν. Ἐψιπύλη δὲ Ἰάσονι συνευνάζεται, καὶ γεννᾷ παῖδας Εὐνηον καὶ Νεβροφόνον.

18 Ἀπὸ Λήμνου δὲ προσίσχουσι Δολίοσιν,<sup>2</sup> ὧν ἔβασίλευε Κύζικος. οὗτος αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο φιλοφρόνως. νυκτὸς δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐντεῦθεν καὶ περιπεσόντες ἀντιπνοαῖς, ἀγνοοῦντες πάλιν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Ἰάλμενος Homer, *Il.* ii. 512: ἄλμενος A.

<sup>2</sup> Δολίοσιν Aegius: δολίοις EA.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 607 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 473 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vii. 468; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 77 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 15. As to the massacre of the men of Lemnos by the women, see further Herodotus, vi. 138; Apostolius, *Cent.* x. 65; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 91; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 609, 615. The visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos was the theme of plays by Aeschylus and Sophocles. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 79, 215 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 51 *sqq.* The Lemnian traditions have been interpreted as evidence of a former custom of gynocracy, or

Ascalaphus and Ialmenus, sons of Ares; Asterius, son of Cometes; Polyphemus, son of Elatus.

These with Jason as admiral put to sea and touched at Lemnos.<sup>1</sup> At that time it chanced that Lemnos was bereft of men and ruled over by a queen, Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, the reason of which was as follows. The Lemnian women did not honour Aphrodite, and she visited them with a noisome smell; therefore their spouses took captive women from the neighbouring country of Thrace and bedded with them. Thus dishonoured, the Lemnian women murdered their fathers and husbands, but Hypsipyle alone saved her father Thoas by hiding him. So having put in to Lemnos, at that time ruled by women, the Argonauts had intercourse with the women, and Hypsipyle bedded with Jason and bore sons, Euneus and Nebrophonus.

And after Lemnos they landed among the Doliones, of whom Cyzicus was king.<sup>2</sup> He received them kindly. But having put to sea from there by night and met with contrary winds, they lost their bearings and landed again among the Doliones.

the rule of men by women, in the island. See J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht* (Stuttgart, 1861), pp. 84 *sqq.* Every year the island of Lemnos was purified from the guilt of the massacre and sacrifices were offered to the dead. The ceremonies lasted nine days, during which all fires were extinguished in the island, and a new fire was brought by ship from Delos. If the vessel arrived before the sacrifices to the dead had been offered, it might not put in to shore or anchor, but had to cruise in the offing till they were completed. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24.

<sup>2</sup> As to the visit of the Argonauts to the Doliones and the death of King Cyzicus, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 935-1077; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 486 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 634 *sqq.*, iii. 1 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 16.



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Δολίοσι προσίσχουσιν. οἱ δὲ νομίζοντες Πελασγικὸν εἶναι στρατόν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν συνεχῶς πολεμούμενοι) μάχην τῆς νυκτὸς συνάπτουσιν ἀγνοοῦντες πρὸς ἀγνοοῦντας. κτείναντες δὲ πολλοὺς οἱ Ἀργοναῦται, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Κύζικον, μεθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς ἔγνωσαν, ἀποδυράμενοι τὰς τε κόμας ἐκείραντο καὶ τὸν Κύζικον πολυτελῶς ἔθαψαν. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ταφὴν πλεύσαντες Μυσία προσίσχουσιν.

- 19 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Πολύφημον κατέλιπον. Ἔλας γὰρ ὁ Θειοδάμαντος παῖς, Ἡρακλέους δὲ ἐρώμενος, ἀποσταλεῖς ὑδρεύσασθαι διὰ κάλλος ὑπὸ νυμφῶν ἠρπάγη. Πολύφημος δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτοῦ βοήσαντος, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν,<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀγεσθαι νομίζων. καὶ δηλοῖ συντυχόντι Ἡρακλεῖ. ζητούντων δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τὸν Ἔλαν ἡ ναῦς ἀνήχθη, καὶ Πολύφημος μὲν ἐν Μυσία κτίσας πόλιν Κίον<sup>2</sup> ἐβασίλευσεν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἄργος. Ἡρόδωρος<sup>3</sup> δὲ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν φησι πλεῦσαι τότε, ἀλλὰ παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ δουλεύειν. Φερεκύδης δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν Ἀφεταῖς τῆς Θεσσαλίας ἀπολειφθῆναι λέγει, τῆς Ἀργούσ φθεγξαμένης μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν τὸ τού-

<sup>1</sup> ἐδίωκεν Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 21, Hercher, Wagner: ἐδίωξεν EA. <sup>2</sup> κίον E: κίου A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἡρόδωρος Faber: Ἡρόδοτος A.

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<sup>1</sup> They lamented for three days and tore out their hair; they raised a mound over the grave, marched round it thrice in armour, performed funeral rites, and celebrated games in honour of the dead man. The mound was to be seen down to later days, and the people of Cyzicus continued to pour libations at it every year. See Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1057-1077. Compare *Orphica, Argonautica*, 571 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 332 sqq.

However, the Doliones, taking them for a Pelasgian army (for they were constantly harassed by the Pelasgians), joined battle with them by night in mutual ignorance of each other. The Argonauts slew many and among the rest Cyzicus; but by day, when they knew what they had done, they mourned and cut off their hair and gave Cyzicus a costly burial;<sup>1</sup> and after the burial they sailed away and touched at Mysia.<sup>2</sup>

There they left Hercules and Polyphemus. For Hylas, son of Thiodamas, a minion of Hercules, had been sent to draw water and was ravished away by nymphs on account of his beauty.<sup>3</sup> But Polyphemus heard him cry out, and drawing his sword gave chase in the belief that he was being carried off by robbers. Falling in with Hercules, he told him; and while the two were seeking for Hylas, the ship put to sea. So Polyphemus founded a city Cius in Mysia and reigned as king;<sup>4</sup> but Hercules returned to Argos. However Herodorus says that Hercules did not sail at all at that time, but served as a slave at the court of Omphale. But Pherecydes says that he was left behind at Aphetæ in Thessaly, the Argo having declared with human voice that she could not bear

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1172 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 481 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> As to Hylas and Hercules, compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1207 *sqq.*; Theocritus, *Id.* xiii.; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 646 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iii. 521 *sqq.*; Propertius, i. 20. 17 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 18, 140 (First Vatican Mythographer, 49; Second Vatican Mythographer, 199). It is said that down to comparatively late times the natives continued to sacrifice to Hylas at the spring where he had disappeared, that the priest used to call on him thrice by name, and that the echo answered thrice (Antoninus Liberalis, *l.c.*).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1321 *sqq.*, 1345 *sqq.*

## ΑΠΟΛΛΕΥΔΟΥΡΟΣ

του βάρους. Δημῶρατος δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς Κόλχους πεπλευκότα· παρέδωκε· Διονύσιος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα φησὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν γενέσθαι.

- 20 Ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσίας ἀπήλθον εἰς τὴν Βεβρύκων γῆν· ἧς ἐβασίλευεν Ἀμυκος Ποσειδῶνος παῖς καὶ <νύμφης><sup>1</sup> Βιθυνίδος. γενναῖος δὲ ὢν οὗτος τοὺς πρόσσχόντας ξένους ἠνάγκαζε πυκτεύειν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀνήρει. παραγενόμενος οὖν καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀργὴν τὸν ἄριστον αὐτῶν εἰς πυγμὴν προεκαλεῖτο.<sup>2</sup> Πολυδεύκης δὲ ὑποσχόμενος πυκτεύσειν πρὸς αὐτόν, πλήξας κατὰ τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἀπέκτεινε. τῶν δὲ Βεβρύκων ὄρμησάντων πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀρπάσαντες οἱ ἄριστεῖς τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὺς φεύγοντας φονεύουσι αὐτῶν.

- 21 Ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχθέντες καταναυῶσιν εἰς τὴν τῆς Θράκης Σαλμυδησσόν, ἔνθα ὤκει Φινεύς μάντις τὰς ὄψεις πεπηρωμένος. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἀγῆ-<sup>1</sup> νύμφης added by Hercher, comparing Scholiast on Plato, *Λαῖος*, vii. p. 796 A. <sup>2</sup> προεκαλεῖτο Faber: προσεκαλεῖτο A.

<sup>1</sup> The opinions of the ancients were much divided as to the share Hercules took in the voyage of the Argo. See Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1290. In saying that Hercules was left behind in Mysia and returned to Argos, our author follows, as usual, the version of Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* i. 1273 *sqq.*). According to another version, after Hercules was left behind by the Argo in Mysia, he made his way on foot to Colchis (Theocritus, *Id.* xiii. 73 *sqq.*). Herodotus says (i. 193) that at Aphetæ in Thessaly the hero landed from the Argo to fetch water and was left behind by Jason and his fellows. From the present passage of Apollonius it would seem that in this account Herodotus was following Pherecydes. Compare Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀφεται.

<sup>2</sup> As to the visit of the Argonauts to the Bebryces, and the boxing-match of Pollux with Amycus, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1 *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxii. 27 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 661 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 99 *sqq.*; Hygi-

his weight. Nevertheless Demaratus has recorded that Hercules sailed to Colchis; for Dionysius even affirms that he was the leader of the Argonauts.<sup>1</sup>

From Mysia they departed to the land of the Bebryces, which was ruled by King Amycus, son of Poseidon and a Bithynian nymph.<sup>2</sup> Being a doughty man he compelled the strangers that landed to box and in that way made an end of them. So going to the Argo as usual, he challenged the best man of the crew to a boxing match. Pollux undertook to box against him and killed him with a blow on the elbow. When the Bebryces made a rush at him, the chiefs snatched up their arms and put them to flight with great slaughter.

Thence they put to sea and came to land at Salmydessus in Thrace, where dwelt Phineus, a seer who had lost the sight of both eyes.<sup>3</sup> Some say he

was, *Fab.* 17; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 353; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 31, 123 (First Vatican Mythographer, 93; Second Vatican Mythographer, 140). The name of the Bithynian nymph, mother of Amycus, was Melie (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 17; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 373).

<sup>3</sup> As to Phineus and the Harpies, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 176 *sqq.*, with the Scholia on *vv.* 177, 178, 181; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xii. 69; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 422 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 209; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 9 *sq.*, 124 (First Vatican Mythographer, 27; Second Vatican Mythographer, 142). Aeschylus and Sophocles composed tragedies on the subject of Phineus. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 83, 284 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 311 *sqq.* The classical description of the Harpies is that of Virgil (*Aen.* iii. 225 *sqq.*). Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 265-269. In his account of the visit of the Argonauts to Phineus, the rationalistic Diodorus Siculus (iv. 43 *sq.*) omits all mention of the Harpies.

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νορος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος υἱόν· καὶ  
 πηρωθῆναί φασιν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ θεῶν, ὅτι  
 προέλεγε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ μέλλοντα, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 Βορέου καὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ὅτι πεισθεὶς μη-  
 τριᾷ τοὺς ἰδίους ἐτύφλωσε παῖδας, τινὲς δὲ ὑπὸ  
 Ποσειδῶνος, ὅτι τοῖς Φρίξου παισὶ τὸν ἐκ Κόλ-  
 χων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πλοῦν ἐμήνυσεν. ἔπεμψαν  
 δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἀρπυίας οἱ θεοί· πτερωταὶ δὲ  
 ἦσαν αὐταί, καὶ ἐπειδὴ<sup>1</sup> τῷ Φινεΐ παρετίθετο  
 τράπεζα, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καθιπτάμεναι τὰ μὲν πλεί-  
 ονα ἀνήρπασον, ὀλίγα δὲ ὅσα ὀσμῆς ἀνάπλεα  
 κατέλειπον, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι προσενέγκασθαι.  
 βουλομένοις δὲ τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις τὰ περὶ τοῦ  
 πλοῦ μαθεῖν ὑποθήσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν ἔφη, τῶν  
 ἀρπυιῶν αὐτὸν ἐὰν ἀπαλλάξωσιν. οἱ δὲ παρέ-  
 θεσαν αὐτῷ τράπεζαν ἐδεσμάτων, ἀρπυιαὶ δὲ  
 ἐξαίφνης σὺν βοῇ καταπτᾶσαι τὴν τροφήν ἤρ-  
 πασαν.<sup>2</sup> θεασάμενοι δὲ οἱ Βορέου παῖδες Ζήτης  
 καὶ Κάλαις, ὄντες πτερωτοί, σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη  
 δι' αἴρος ἐδίωκον. ἦν δὲ ταῖς ἀρπυίαις χρεῶν  
 τεθνάναι ὑπὸ τῶν Βορέου παίδων, τοῖς δὲ Βορέου  
 παισὶ τότε τελευτήσειν ὅταν διώκοντες μὴ κατα-  
 λάβωσι. διωκομένων δὲ τῶν ἀρπυιῶν ἡ μὲν κατὰ  
 Πελοπόννησον εἰς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτει,  
 ἧς νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἄρπυς καλεῖται· ταύτην δὲ οἱ  
 μὲν Νικοθόην οἱ δὲ Ἀελλόπουν καλοῦσιν. ἡ δὲ  
 ἑτέρα καλουμένη Ἰκυπέτη, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἰκυθόη  
 (Ἡσίοδος δὲ λέγει αὐτὴν Ἰκυπόδη), αὕτη κατὰ  
 τὴν Προποντίδα φεύγουσα μέχρις Ἐχινάδων  
 ἦλθε νήσων, αἱ νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Στροφάδες καλοῦν-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειδὴ Bekker: ἐπειδὴν EA: ἐπειδὴν . . . παρατίθειτο (for MS. παρετίθετο) Hercher.      <sup>2</sup> ἤρπασαν E: ἤρπασον A.

was a son of Agenor,<sup>1</sup> but others that he was a son of Poseidon, and he is variously alleged to have been blinded by the gods for foretelling men the future; or by Boreas and the Argonauts because he blinded his own sons at the instigation of their stepmother;<sup>2</sup> or by Poseidon, because he revealed to the children of Phrixus how they could sail from Colchis to Greece. The gods also sent the Harpies to him. These were winged female creatures, and when a table was laid for Phineus, they flew down from the sky and snatched up most of the victuals, and what little they left stank so that nobody could touch it. When the Argonauts would have consulted him about the voyage, he said that he would advise them about it if they would rid him of the Harpies. So the Argonauts laid a table of viands beside him, and the Harpies with a shriek suddenly pounced down and snatched away the food. When Zetes and Calais, the sons of Boreas, saw that, they drew their swords and, being winged, pursued them through the air. Now it was fated that the Harpies should perish by the sons of Boreas, and that the sons of Boreas should die when they could not catch up a fugitive. So the Harpies were pursued and one of them fell into the river Tigres in Peloponnese, the river that is now called Harpys after her; some call her Nicothoe, but others Aellopus. But the other, named Ocypete or, according to others, Ocythoe (but Hesiod calls her Ocypode)<sup>3</sup> fled by the Propontis till she came to the Echinadian Islands, which are now called Strophades after her;

<sup>1</sup> So Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* ii. 237, 240) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 19).

<sup>2</sup> See below, iii. 15. 3 note.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod (*Theog.* 267) calls her Ocypete.

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ται· ἐστράφη γὰρ ὡς ἦλθεν ἐπὶ ταύτας, καὶ γενομένη κατὰ τὴν ἡίονα ὑπὸ καμάτου πίπτει σὺν τῷ διώκοντι. Ἀπολλώνιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἕως Στροφάδων νήσων φησὶν αὐτὰς διωχθῆναι καὶ μηδὲν παθεῖν, δούσας ὄρκον τὸν Φινέα μηκέτι ἀδικῆσαι.

- 22 Ἀπαλλαγεῖς δὲ τῶν ἀρπυιῶν Φινεὺς ἐμήνυσε τὸν πλοῦν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις, καὶ περὶ τῶν συμπληγάδων ὑπέθετο πετρῶν τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν. ἦσαν δὲ ὑπερμεγέθεις αὐται, συγκρουόμεναι δὲ ἀλλήλαις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν πνευμάτων βίας τὸν διὰ θαλάσσης πόρον ἀπέκλειον. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολλὴ μὲν ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν ὁμίχλη πολὺς δὲ πάταγος, ἦν δὲ ἀδύνατον καὶ τοῖς πετεινοῖς δι' αὐτῶν διελθεῖν.<sup>2</sup> εἶπεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀφεῖναι πελειάδα διὰ τῶν πετρῶν, καὶ ταύτην ἐὰν μὲν ἴδωσι σωθεῖσαν, διαπλεῖν καταφρονούντας, ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολομένην,<sup>3</sup> μὴ πλεῖν βιάζεσθαι. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἀνήγοντο, καὶ ὡς πλησίον ἦσαν τῶν πετρῶν, ἀφιάσιν ἐκ τῆς πύργας πελειάδα· τῆς δὲ ἵπταμένης τὰ ἄκρα τῆς οὐρᾶς ἢ σύμπτωσις τῶν πετρῶν ἀπεθέρισεν.<sup>4</sup> ἀναχωρούσας οὖν ἐπιτηρήσαντες τὰς πέτρας μετ' εἰρεσίας ἐντόνου,<sup>5</sup> συλλαβομένης Ἥρας, διῆλθον,

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ Bekker : ὑπ' EA : ἀπ' Clavier, Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> διελθεῖν E : ἐλθεῖν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολλυμένην EA, Wagner : ἀπολομένην Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπεθέρισεν A : ἀπέθριξεν E : ἀπέθρισεν Wagner.

<sup>5</sup> ἐντόνου A : εὐτόνου E, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 284-298, who says that previously the islands were called the Floating Isles (*Πλωταί*).

<sup>2</sup> The Clashing Rocks are the islands which the Greeks

for when she came to them she turned (*estraphe*) and being at the shore fell for very weariness with her pursuer. But Apollonius in the *Argonautica* says that the Harpies were pursued to the Strophades Islands and suffered no harm, having sworn an oath that they would wrong Phineus no more.<sup>1</sup>

Being rid of the Harpies, Phineas revealed to the Argonauts the course of their voyage, and advised them about the Clashing Rocks<sup>2</sup> in the sea. These were huge cliffs, which, dashed together by the force of the winds, closed the sea passage. Thick was the mist that swept over them, and loud the crash, and it was impossible for even the birds to pass between them. So he told them to let fly a dove between the rocks, and, if they saw it pass safe through, to thread the narrows with an easy mind, but if they saw it perish, then not to force a passage. When they heard that, they put to sea, and on nearing the rocks let fly a dove from the prow, and as she flew the clash of the rocks nipped off the tip of her tail. So, waiting till the rocks had recoiled, with hard rowing and the help of Hera, they passed through, the extremity of the ship's ornamented called Symplegades. Another name for them was the Wandering Rocks (*Planctae*) or the Blue Rocks (*Cyaneae*). See Herodotus, iv. 85; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 317 sq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 561 sq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 32; Merry, on Homer, *Od.* xii. 61; Appendix, "The Clashing Rocks." As to the passage of the Argo between them, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 317 sqq., 549-610; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 683-714; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 561-702; Hyginus, *Fab.* 19. According to the author of the *Orphica* the bird which the Argonauts, or rather Athena, let fly between the Clashing Rocks was not a dove but a heron (*ερωδιός*). The heron was specially associated with Athena. See D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 58.



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τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἀφλάστων τῆς νεῶς<sup>1</sup> περικοπέισης. αἱ μὲν οὖν συμπληγάδες ἕκτοτε ἔστησαν· χρεῶν γὰρ ἦν αὐταῖς νεῶς<sup>1</sup> περαιωθείσης στήναι παντελῶς.

- 23 Οἱ δὲ Ἀργοναῦται πρὸς Μαριανδυνοὺς παρεγένοντο, κακεῖ φιλοφρόνως ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπεδέξατο Λύκος. ἔνθα θνήσκει μὲν Ἴδμων ὁ μάντις πλήξαντος αὐτὸν κάπρου, θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Τίφυς, καὶ τὴν ναῦν Ἀγκαῖος ὑπισχνεῖται κυβερνᾶν.

Παραπλεύσαντες δὲ Θερμῳδοντα καὶ Καύκασον ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν ἦλθον· οὗτος τῆς Κολχικῆς ἐστίν.<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαθορμισθείσης δὲ τῆς νεῶς<sup>1</sup> ἦκε πρὸς Αἰήτην Ἰάσων, καὶ τὰ ἐπιταγέντα ὑπὸ Πελίου λέγων παρεκάλει δοῦναι τὸ δέρας αὐτῷ· ὁ δὲ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, εἰὰν τοὺς χαλκόποδας ταύρους μόνος καταζεύξῃ. ἦσαν δὲ ἄγριοι παρ' αὐτῷ ταῦροι δύο, μεγέθει διαφέροντες, δῶρον Ἡφαίστου, οἳ χαλκοῦς μὲν εἶχον πόδας, πῦρ δὲ ἐκ στομάτων ἐφύσων. τούτους αὐτῷ ζεύξαντι ἐπέτασσε<sup>3</sup> σπείρειν δράκοντος ὀδόντας· εἶχε γὰρ λαβὼν παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὧν Κάδμος ἔσπειρεν ἐν Θήβαις. ἀποροῦντος δὲ τοῦ Ἰάσονος

<sup>1</sup> νεῶς E: νηὸς A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐστίν· ἐγκαθορμισθείσης E, Wagner: ἐστι γῆς· καθορμισθείσης A. <sup>3</sup> ἐπέτασσε E: ἐπετάσσετο A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 720 sqq.; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 715 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* iv. 733 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 18.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 815 sqq.; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 725 sqq.; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 1 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 and 18. According to Apollonius, the barrow of Idmon was surmounted by a wild olive tree, which the Nisaeans were commanded by Apollo to worship as the guardian of the city.

poop being shorn away right round. Henceforth the Clashing Rocks stood still; for it was fated that, so soon as a ship had made the passage, they should come to rest completely.

The Argonauts now arrived among the Marian-dynians, and there King Lycus received them kindly.<sup>1</sup> There died Idmon the seer of a wound inflicted by a boar;<sup>2</sup> and there too died Tiphys, and Ancaeus undertook to steer the ship.<sup>3</sup>

And having sailed past the Thermo-don and the Caucasus they came to the river Phasis, which is in the Colchian land.<sup>4</sup> When the ship was brought into port, Jason repaired to Aetes, and setting forth the charge laid on him by Pelias invited him to give him the fleece. The other promised to give it if single-handed he would yoke the brazen-footed bulls. These were two wild bulls that he had, of enormous size, a gift of Hephaestus; they had brazen feet and puffed fire from their mouths. These creatures Aetes ordered him to yoke and to sow dragon's teeth; for he had got from Athena half of the dragon's teeth which Cadmus sowed in Thebes.<sup>5</sup> While Jason puzzled how he could yoke the bulls,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 851-898; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 729 sqq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 890; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 13 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14 and 18.

<sup>2</sup> As to Jason in Colchis, and his winning of the Golden Fleece, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1260 sqq., iii. 1 sqq., iv. 1-240; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 48. 1-5; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* v. 177-viii. 139; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 1-158. The adventures of Jason in Colchis were the subject of a play by Sophocles called *The Colchian Women*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 15 sqq.; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 204 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 401 sqq., 1176 sqq.

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πῶς ἂν δύναίτο τοὺς ταύρους καταζεύξαι, Μήδεια  
 αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα ἴσχει· ἦν δὲ αὕτη θυγάτηρ Αἰήτου  
 καὶ Εἰδυίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, φαρμακίς.<sup>1</sup> δεδοικυῖα  
 δὲ μὴ πρὸς τῶν ταύρων διαφθαρῆ, κρύφα τοῦ  
 πατρὸς συνεργήσειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὴν κατάζευξιν  
 τῶν ταύρων ἐπηγγείλατο καὶ τὸ δέρας ἐγχειριεῖν,  
 εἰάν ὁμόσῃ αὐτὴν ἕξειν γυναῖκα καὶ εἰς Ἑλλάδα  
 σύμπλον ἀγάγηται. ὁμόσαντος δὲ Ἰάσονος  
 φάρμακον δίδωσιν, ᾧ καταζευγνύναι μέλλοντα  
 τοὺς ταύρους ἐκέλευσε χρῖσαι τὴν τε ἀσπίδα καὶ  
 τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸ σῶμα· τούτῳ γὰρ χρισθέντα ἔφη  
 πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν μὴτ' ἂν ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀδικηθήσε-  
 σθαι μῆτε ὑπὸ σιδήρου. ἐδήλωσε δὲ αὐτῷ σπει-  
 ρομένων τῶν ὀδόντων ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρας μέλλειν  
 ἀναδύεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτὸν καθωπλισμένους, οὓς<sup>2</sup>  
 ἔλεγεν ἐπειδὴν ἀθρόους θεάσσηται, βάλλειν εἰς  
 μέσον λίθους ἄποθεν, ὅταν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου μά-  
 χωνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τότε κτείνειν αὐτούς.  
 Ἰάσων δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας καὶ χρισάμενος τῷ  
 φαρμάκῳ, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὸ τοῦ νεῶ ἄλσος  
 ἐμάστευε τοὺς ταύρους, καὶ σὺν πολλῷ πυρὶ  
 ὀρμήσαντας αὐτοὺς κατέζευξε. σπείραντος<sup>3</sup> δὲ  
 αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀδόντας ἀνέτελλον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἄνδρες  
 ἔνοπλοι· ὁ δὲ ὅπου πλείονας ἑώρα, βάλλων  
 ἀφανῶς<sup>4</sup> λίθους, πρὸς αὐτοὺς μαχομένους πρὸς  
 ἀλλήλους προσιῶν ἀνήρει. καὶ κατέζευγμένων<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> φαρμακίς ER<sup>a</sup>: φαρμάκοις A.      <sup>2</sup> οὓς ERR<sup>a</sup>: ἄς A.

<sup>3</sup> σπείραντος E: σπείροντος A.      <sup>4</sup> ἀφανῶς E: ἀφανείς A.

<sup>5</sup> κατέζευγμένων Faber: καταζευγνυμένων EA.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the yoking of the brazen-footed bulls, compare Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 224 (399) *sqq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.*

Medea conceived a passion for him; now she was a witch, daughter of Aetes and Idyia, daughter of Ocean. And fearing lest he might be destroyed by the bulls, she, keeping the thing from her father, promised to help him to yoke the bulls and to deliver to him the fleece, if he would swear to have her to wife and would take her with him on the voyage to Greece. When Jason swore to do so, she gave him a drug with which she bade him anoint his shield, spear, and body when he was about to yoke the bulls; for she said that, anointed with it, he could for a single day be harmed neither by fire nor by iron. And she signified to him that, when the teeth were sown, armed men would spring up from the ground against him; and when he saw a knot of them he was to throw stones into their midst from a distance, and when they fought each other about that, he was then to kill them.<sup>1</sup> On hearing that, Jason anointed himself with the drug,<sup>2</sup> and being come to the grove of the temple he sought the bulls, and though they charged him with a flame of fire, he yoked them.<sup>3</sup> And when he had sowed the teeth, there rose armed men from the ground; and where he saw several together, he pelted them unseen with stones, and when they fought each other he drew near and slew them.<sup>4</sup> But though the bulls

iii. 1026 *sqq.* As to the drug with which Jason was to anoint himself, see further Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 221 (394) *sq.*; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 844 *sqq.* It was extracted from a plant with a saffron-coloured flower, which was said to grow on the Caucasus from the blood of Prometheus. Compare Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* vii. 355 *sqq.*; Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Fluviiis*, v. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 1246 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1278 *sqq.* <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1320-1398.

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τῶν ταύρων οὐκ ἐδίδου τὸ δέρας Αἰήτης, ἐβούλετο δὲ τὴν τε Ἄργω καταφλέξει καὶ κτείνει τοὺς ἐμπλέοντας. φθάσασα δὲ Μήδεια τὸν Ἰάσονα νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέρας ἤγαγε, καὶ τὸν φυλάσσοντα δράκοντα κατακοιμίσασα τοῖς φαρμάκοις μετὰ Ἰάσονος, ἔχουσα τὸ δέρας, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄργω παρεγένετο. συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἄψυρτος. οἱ δὲ νυκτὸς μετὰ τούτων ἀνήχθησαν.

- 24 Αἰήτης δὲ ἐπιγνούς τὰ τῇ Μηδείᾳ τετολημμένα ὥρμησε τὴν ναῦν διώκειν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὄντα Μήδεια τὸν ἀδελφὸν φονεύει καὶ μελίσασα κατὰ τοῦ βυθοῦ ρίπτει. συναθροίζων δὲ Αἰήτης τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη τῆς διώξεως ὑπέρησε· διόπερ ὑποστρέψας, καὶ τὰ σωθέντα τοῦ παιδὸς μέλη θάψας, τὸν τόπον προσηγόρευσε Τόμους. πολλοὺς δὲ τῶν Κόλχων ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν τῆς Ἀργούς ἐξέπεμψεν, ἀπειλήσας, εἰ μὴ Μήδειαν ἄξουσιν, αὐτοὺς πείσεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνης. οἱ δὲ σχισθέντες<sup>1</sup> ἄλλος ἄλλαχού ζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο.

Τοῖς δὲ Ἀργοναύταις τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ποταμὸν ἤδη παραπλέουσι Ζεὺς μηνίσας ὑπὲρ τοῦ φονευθέντος Ἄψύρτου χειμῶνα λάβρον ἐπιπέμψας

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<sup>1</sup> σχισθέντες ER, Wagner: σχεθέντες A: διασχεθέντες Heyne, Westermann, Müller: διαχεθέντες Bekker: διαχυθέντες Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 123–182.

<sup>2</sup> Here Apollodorus departs from the version of Apollonius Rhodius, according to whom Apsyrtus, left behind by Jason and Medea, pursued them with a band of Colchians, and, overtaking them, was treacherously slain by Jason, with the connivance of Medea, in an island of the Danube. See

were yoked, Aetes did not give the fleece; for he wished to burn down the Argo and kill the crew. But before he could do so, Medea brought Jason by night to the fleece, and having lulled to sleep by her drugs the dragon that guarded it, she possessed herself of the fleece and in Jason's company came to the Argo.<sup>1</sup> She was attended, too, by her brother Apsyrtus.<sup>2</sup> And with them the Argonauts put to sea by night.

When Aetes discovered the daring deeds done by Medea, he started off in pursuit of the ship; but when she saw him near, Medea murdered her brother and cutting him limb from limb threw the pieces into the deep. Gathering the child's limbs, Aetes fell behind in the pursuit; wherefore he turned back, and, having buried the rescued limbs of his child, he called the place Tomi. But he sent out many of the Colchians to search for the Argo, threatening that, if they did not bring Medea to him, they should suffer the punishment due to her; so they separated and pursued the search in divers places.

When the Argonauts were already sailing past the Eridanus river, Zeus sent a furious storm upon them, and drove them out of their course, because he was

Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 224 sq., 303-481. Apollodorus seems to have followed the account given by Pherecydes in his seventh book (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 223, 228). The version of Apollonius is followed by Hyginus (*Fab.* 23) and the Orphic poet (*Argonautica*, 1027 sqq.). According to Sophocles, in his play *The Colchian Women*, Apsyrtus was murdered in the palace of Aetes (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 228); and this account seems to have been accepted by Euripides (*Medea*, 1334). Apollodorus's version of the murder of Apsyrtus is repeated verbally by Zenobius (iv. 92), but as usual without acknowledgment.

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ἐμβάλλει πλάνην. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς Ἀψυρτίδας νήσους παραπλεόντων ἢ ναῦς φθέγγεται μὴ λήξειν τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ Διός, ἐὰν<sup>1</sup> μὴ πορευθέντες εἰς τὴν Αὔσουϊαν τὸν Ἀψύρτου φόνον καθαρθῶσιν ὑπὸ Κίρκης. οἱ δὲ παραπλεύσαντες τὰ Λιγύων<sup>2</sup> καὶ Κελτῶν ἔθνη, καὶ διὰ τοῦ Σαρδονίου πελάγους διακομισθέντες,<sup>3</sup> παραμειψάμενοι Τυρρηνίαν ἤλθον εἰς Αἰαίην,<sup>4</sup> ἔνθα Κίρκης ἰκέται γενόμενοι καθαίρονται.

- 25 Παραπλεόντων δὲ Σειρήνας αὐτῶν, Ὀρφεὺς τὴν ἐναντίαν μούσαν μελωδῶν τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας κατέσχε. μόνος δὲ Βούτης ἐξενήξατο πρὸς αὐτάς, ὃν ἀρπάσασα Ἀφροδίτη ἐν Διλυβαίῳ κατώκισε.

Μετὰ δὲ τὰς Σειρήνας τὴν ναῦν Χάρυβδις ἐξεδέχετο καὶ Σκύλλα καὶ πέτραι πλαγκταί, ὑπὲρ ὧν φλόξ πολλὴ καὶ καπνὸς ἀναφερόμενος ἑώρατο. ἀλλὰ διὰ τούτων διεκόμισε τὴν ναῦν σὺν Νηρηίσι Θέτις παρακληθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἥρας.

Παραμειψάμενοι δὲ Θρινακίαν νῆσον Ἥλιου βούς<sup>5</sup> ἔχουσιν εἰς τὴν Φαιάκων νῆσον Κέρκυραν ἦκον, ἧς βασιλεὺς ἦν Ἀλκίνοος. τῶν δὲ Κόλχων

<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν Heyne : εἰ EA.

<sup>2</sup> Λιγύων Scaliger : λιβύων EA.

<sup>3</sup> διακομισθέντες E : κομισθέντες A.

<sup>4</sup> αἰαίην ERR<sup>a</sup>C : Αἰαίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>5</sup> βούς EA : βόας Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 576-591; *Orphica*, *Argonautica*, 1160 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 659-717, who describes the purificatory rites. A sucking-pig was waved over the homicides; then its throat was cut, and their hands were sprinkled with its blood. Similar rites of purification

angry at the murder of Apsyrtus. And as they were sailing past the Apsyrtides Islands, the ship spoke, saying that the wrath of Zeus would not cease unless they journeyed to Ausonia and were purified by Circe for the murder of Apsyrtus.<sup>1</sup> So when they had sailed past the Ligurian and Celtic nations and had voyaged through the Sardinian Sea, they skirted Tyrrhenia and came to Aeaëa, where they supplicated Circe and were purified.<sup>2</sup>

And as they sailed past the Sirens,<sup>3</sup> Orpheus restrained the Argonauts by chanting a counter melody. Butes alone swam off to the Sirens, but Aphrodite carried him away and settled him in Lilybaëum.

After the Sirens, the ship encountered Charybdis and Scylla and the Wandering Rocks,<sup>4</sup> above which a great flame and smoke were seen rising. But Thetis with the Nereids steered the ship through them at the summons of Hera.

Having passed by the Island of Thrinacia, where are the kine of the Sun,<sup>5</sup> they came to Corcyra, the island of the Phaeacians, of which Alcinous was king.<sup>6</sup> But when the Colchians could not find the for homicide are represented on Greek vases. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 31. 8 (vol. iii. p. 277).

<sup>3</sup> About the Argonauts and the Sirens, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 891-921; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1270-1297; Hyginus, *Fab.* 14.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 922 *sqq.* These Wandering Rocks are supposed to be the Lipari islands, two of which are still active volcanoes.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 964-979, according to whom the kine of the Sun were milk-white, with golden horns.

<sup>6</sup> About the Argonauts among the Phaeacians, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 982 *sqq.*; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1298-1354; Hyginus, *Fab.* 23.



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τὴν ναῦν εὐρεῖν μὴ δυναμένων οἱ μὲν τοῖς Κεραυνίοις<sup>1</sup> ὄρεσι παρῳήκησαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα κομισθέντες ἔκτισαν Ἀψυρτίδας νήσους· ἔνιοι δὲ πρὸς Φαίακας ἐλθόντες τὴν Ἀργῶ κατέλαβον καὶ τὴν Μήδειαν ἀπήτουν παρ' Ἀλκινόου. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, εἰ μὲν ἤδη συνελήλυθεν Ἰάσονι, δώσειν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ, εἰ δ' ἔτι παρθένος ἐστί, τῷ πατρὶ ἀποπέμψειν.<sup>2</sup> Ἀρήτη δὲ ἡ Ἀλκινόου γυνὴ φθάσασα Μήδειαν Ἰάσονι συνέξευξεν· ὅθεν οἱ μὲν Κόλχοι μετὰ Φαιάκων κατῳήκησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀργοναῦται μετὰ τῆς Μηδείας ἀνήχθησαν.

28 Πλέοντες δὲ νυκτὸς σφοδρῶ περιπίπτουσι χειμῶνι. Ἀπόλλων δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τὰς Μελαντίους<sup>3</sup> δεῖράς, τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν. οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐθεάσαντο νῆσον, τῷ δὲ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφανῆναι<sup>4</sup> προσορμισθέντες Ἀνάφην ἐκάλεσαν· ἰδρυσάμενοι δὲ βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος αἰγλήτου<sup>5</sup> καὶ θυσιάσαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίαν ἐτράπησαν. δοθεῖσαι δ' ὑπὸ Ἀρήτης Μηδεία δώδεκα θεράπαινοι τοὺς ἀριστεάς ἔσκωπτον μετὰ παιγνίας· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ θυσίᾳ σύνηθές ἐστι σκώπτειν ταῖς γυναιξίν.

<sup>1</sup> Κεραυνίοις Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 175: κερκυραίοις A: κερκυραίων E.    <sup>2</sup> ἀποπέμψειν E: ἀντιπέμψειν A.

<sup>3</sup> Μελαντίους Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1707: μενοίτιου A.

<sup>4</sup> A participle like καταπλαγέντες seems wanted. Compare ii. 5. 1.

<sup>5</sup> αἰγλήτου Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1716: αἰγάλου A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1106 sqq.; *Orphica*, *Argonautica*, 1327 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1111-1169; *Orphica*, *Argonautica*, 1342 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1206 sqq.

ship, some of them settled at the Ceraunian mountains, and some journeyed to Illyria and colonized the Apsyrtides Islands. But some came to the Phaeacians, and finding the Argo there, they demanded of Alcinous that he should give up Medea. He answered, that if she already knew Jason, he would give her to him, but that if she were still a maid he would send her away to her father.<sup>1</sup> However, Arete, wife of Alcinous, anticipated matters by marrying Medea to Jason;<sup>2</sup> hence the Colchians settled down among the Phaeacians<sup>3</sup> and the Argonauts put to sea with Medea.

Sailing by night they encountered a violent storm, and Apollo, taking his stand on the Melantian ridges, flashed lightning down, shooting a shaft into the sea. Then they perceived an island close at hand, and anchoring there they named it Anaphe, because it had loomed up (*anaphanenai*) unexpectedly. So they founded an altar of Radiant Apollo, and having offered sacrifice they betook them to feasting; and twelve handmaids, whom Arete had given to Medea, jested merrily with the chiefs; whence it is still customary for the women to jest at the sacrifice.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1701-1730; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1361-1367. From the description of Apollonius we gather that the raillery between men and women at these sacrifices was of a ribald character (*αισχροῖς ἔρασιν*). Here Apollodorus again departs from Apollonius, who places the intervention of Apollo and the appearance of the island of Anaphe after the approach of the Argonauts to Crete, and their repulse by Talos. Moreover, Apollonius tells how, after leaving Phaeacia, the Argonauts were driven by a storm to Libya and the Syrtes, where they suffered much hardship (*Argon.* iv. 1228-1628). This Libyan episode in the voyage of the Argo is noticed by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 56. 6), but entirely omitted by Apollodorus.

## APOLLODORUS

Ἐντεῦθεν ἀναχθέντες κωλύονται Κρήτη προσίσχειν ὑπὸ Τάλῳ. τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ χαλκοῦ γένους εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου Μίνῳ δοθῆναι. ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦς ἀνὴρ, οἱ δὲ ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. εἶχε δὲ φλέβα μίαν ἀπὸ αὐχένος κατατείνουσιν ἄχρι σφυρῶν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ τέρμα<sup>1</sup> τῆς φλεβὸς ἦλος διήριστο χαλκοῦς. οὗτος ὁ Τάλῳς τρὶς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τὴν νῆσον περιτροχάζων ἐτήρει· διὸ καὶ τότε τὴν Ἀργὴν προσπλέουσιν θεωρῶν τοῖς λίθοις ἔβαλλεν. ἐξαπατηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ Μηδείας ἀπέθανεν, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, διὰ φαρμάκων αὐτῷ μανίαν Μηδείας ἐμβαλοῦσης, ὡς δὲ τινες, ὑποσχομένης ποιήσειν ἀθάνατον καὶ τὸν ἦλον ἐξελοῦσης, ἐκρύντος τοῦ παντὸς ἰχώρος αὐτὸν ἀποθανεῖν. τινὲς δὲ αὐτὸν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ποίαντος εἰς τὸ σφυρὸν τελευτήσαι λέγουσι.

Μίαν δὲ ἐνταῦθα νύκτα μείναντες Αἰγίνη προσίσχουσιν ὑδρεύσασθαι θέλοντες, καὶ γίνεται περὶ τῆς ὑδρείας αὐτοῖς ἄμιλλα. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ διὰ τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος πλεύσαντες εἰς Ἴωλκὸν

<sup>1</sup> τέρμα Faber, Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δέσμα A, Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 85, Westermann, Müller.

<sup>1</sup> As to Talos, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1639–1693; *Orphica, Argonautica*, 1358–1360; Agatharchides, in Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 443 b, lines 22–25, ed. Bekker; Lucian, *De saltatione*, 49; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 85; Suidas, *s.v.* Σαρδάριος γέλως; Eustathius, on Homer, *Odyssey*, xx. 302, p. 1893; Scholiast on Plato, *Republic*, i. p. 337 A. Talos would seem to have been a bronze image of the sun represented as a man with a bull's head. See *The Dying God*, pp. 74 sq.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 718 sqq. In his account of the death of Talos our author again differs from Apollonius Rhodius, according

Putting to sea from there, they were hindered from touching at Crete by Talos.<sup>1</sup> Some say that he was a man of the Brazen Race, others that he was given to Minos by Hephaestus; he was a brazen man, but some say that he was a bull. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles, and a bronze nail was rammed home at the end of the vein. This Talos kept guard, running round the island thrice every day; wherefore, when he saw the Argo standing inshore, he pelted it as usual with stones. His death was brought about by the wiles of Medea, whether, as some say, she drove him mad by drugs, or, as others say, she promised to make him immortal and then drew out the nail, so that all the ichor gushed out and he died. But some say that Poëas shot him dead in the ankle.

After tarrying a single night there they put in to Aegina to draw water, and a contest arose among them concerning the drawing of the water.<sup>2</sup> Thence they sailed betwixt Euboea and Locris and came to

to whom Talos perished through grazing his ankle against a jagged rock, so that all the ichor in his body gushed out. This incident seems to have been narrated by Sophocles in one of his plays (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1638; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 110 sqq.). The account, mentioned by Apollodorus, which referred the death of Talos to the spells of Medea, is illustrated by a magnificent vase-painting, in the finest style, which represents Talos swooning to death in presence of the Argonauts, while the enchantress Medea stands by, gazing grimly at her victim and holding in one hand a basket from which she seems to be drawing with the other the fatal herbs. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. p. 721, with plate XLI.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1765-1772, from whose account we gather that this story was told to explain the origin of a foot-race in Aegina, in which young men ran with jars full of water on their shoulders.

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ἦλθον, τὸν πάντα πλοῦν ἐν τέτταρσι μῆσι τελειώσαντες.

27 Πελίας δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ὑποστροφὴν τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν τὸν Αἴσονα κτείνειν ἤθελεν· ὁ δὲ αἰτησάμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελεῖν θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἀδεῶς τοῦ ταυρείου σπασάμενος αἵματος<sup>1</sup> ἀπέθανεν. ἡ δὲ Ἰάσονος μήτηρ ἐπαρασαμένη Πελία,<sup>2</sup> νήπιον ἀπολιπούσα παῖδα Πρόμαχον ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρτησε· Πελίας δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτῇ καταλειφθέντα παῖδα ἀπέκτεινεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων κατελθὼν τὸ μὲν δέρας ἔδωκε, περὶ ᾧ δὲ ἡδίκηθη μετελθεῖν ἐθέλων καιρὸν ἐξεδέχετο. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰς Ἴσθμὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀριστέων πλεύσας ἀνέθηκε τὴν ναβν Ποσειδῶνι, αὐθις δὲ Μήδειαν παρακαλεῖ ζῆτεῖν ὅπως Πελίας αὐτῷ δίκας ὑπόσχη. ἡ δὲ εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τοῦ Πελίου παρελθοῦσα πείθει τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ τὸν πατέρα κρεουργῆσαι καὶ καθεψῆσαι, διὰ φαρμάκων αὐτὸν ἐπαγγελιομένη ποιήσειν νέον· καὶ τοῦ πιστεῦσαι χάριν κριὸν μελίσασα καὶ καθεψήσασα ἐποίησεν ἄρνα. αἱ δὲ πιστεύσασαι τὸν πατέρα κρεουργοῦσι καὶ καθέψουσιν. Ἄκαστος<sup>3</sup> δὲ μετὰ τῶν τὴν Ἴωλκὸν

<sup>1</sup> ταυρείου σπασάμενος αἵματος E: ταύρου αἶμα σπασάμενος A.

<sup>2</sup> πελία E: πελίαν A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄκαστος Aegius: ἄδραστος EA.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 50. 1; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* i. 777 sq. The ancients believed that bull's blood was poisonous. Similarly Themistocles was popularly supposed to have killed himself by drinking bull's blood (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 31).

<sup>2</sup> Her name was Perimede, according to Apollodorus (i. 9. 16). Diodorus Siculus calls her Amphinome, and says that she stabbed herself after cursing Pelias (iv. 50. 1).

Iolcus, having completed the whole voyage in four months.

Now Pelias, despairing of the return of the Argonauts, would have killed Aeson; but he requested to be allowed to take his own life, and in offering a sacrifice drank freely of the bull's blood and died.<sup>1</sup> And Jason's mother cursed Pelias and hanged herself,<sup>2</sup> leaving behind an infant son Promachus; but Pelias slew even the son whom she had left behind.<sup>3</sup> On his return Jason surrendered the fleece, but though he longed to avenge his wrongs he bided his time. At that time he sailed with the chiefs to the Isthmus and dedicated the ship to Poseidon, but afterwards he exhorted Medea to devise how he could punish Pelias. So she repaired to the palace of Pelias and persuaded his daughters to make mince meat of their father and boil him, promising to make him young again by her drugs; and to win their confidence she cut up a ram and made it into a lamb by boiling it. So they believed her, made mince meat of their father and boiled him.<sup>4</sup> But Acastus buried his father with the help

<sup>3</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 50. 1.

<sup>4</sup> With this account of the death of Pelias compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 51 sq.; Pausanias, viii. 11. 2 sq.; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 92; Plautus, *Pseudolus*, Act iii. vv. 868 sqq.; Cicero, *De senectute*, xxiii. 83; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 297-349; Hyginus, *Fab.* 24. The story of the fraud practised by Medea on Pelias is illustrated by Greek vase-paintings. For example, on a black-figured vase the ram is seen issuing from the boiling cauldron, while Medea and the two daughters of Pelias stand by watching it with gestures of glad surprise, and the aged white-haired king himself sits looking on expectant. See Miss J. E. Harrison, *Greek Vase Paintings* (London, 1894), plate ii; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 1201 sq., with fig. 1394. According to the author of

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οἰκούντων τὸν πατέρα θάπτει, τὸν δὲ Ἴάσονα  
 μετὰ τῆς Μηδείας τῆς Ἴωλκοῦ ἐκβάλλει.  
 28 Οἱ δὲ ἤκον εἰς Κόρινθον, καὶ δέκα μὲν ἔτη  
 διετέλουν εὐτυχοῦντες, αὐθις δὲ τοῦ τῆς Κορίνθου  
 βασιλέως Κρέοντος τὴν θυγατέρα Γλαύκην  
 Ἴάσωνι ἐγγυῶντος, παραπεμφάμενος Ἴάσων Μή-  
 δειαν ἐγάμει. ἡ δέ, οὓς τε ᾤμοσεν Ἴάσων θεοὺς  
 ἐπικαλεσαμένη καὶ τὴν Ἴάσωνος ἀχαριστίαν  
 μεμψαμένη πολλάκις, τῇ μὲν γαμουμένη πέπλον  
 μεμαγμένον<sup>1</sup> φαρμάκοις<sup>2</sup> ἔπεμψεν, ὃν ἀμφιεσα-  
 μένη μετὰ τοῦ βοηθοῦντος πατρὸς πυρὶ λάβρω  
 κατεφλέχθη,<sup>3</sup> τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὓς εἶχεν ἐξ Ἴάσωνος,  
 Μέρμερον καὶ Φέρητα, ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ λαβοῦσα  
 παρὰ Ἡλίου ἄρμα πτηνῶν<sup>4</sup> δρακόντων ἐπὶ  
 τούτου φεύγουσα ἦλθεν εἰς Ἀθήνας. λέγεται δὲ  
 <καὶ> ὅτι φεύγουσα τοὺς παῖδας ἔτι νηπίους  
 ὄντας κατέλιπεν, ἰκέτας καθίσασα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν

<sup>1</sup> μεμαγμένον E: μεμαγευμένον A.

<sup>2</sup> φαρμάκοις ER: φάρμακον A.

<sup>3</sup> κατεφλέχθη E: καταφλέγει A.

<sup>4</sup> πτηνῶν EC. Some MSS. read πτηνόν.

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the epic *Returns* (*Nostoi*), Medea in like manner restored to youth Jason's old father, Aeson; according to Pherecydes and Simonides, she applied the magical restorative with success to her husband, Jason. Again, Aeschylus wrote a play called *The Nurses of Dionysus*, in which he related how Medea similarly renovated not only the nurses but their husbands by the simple process of decoction. See the Greek Argument to the *Medea* of Euripides, and the Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1321. (According to Ovid, *Metamorph.*, vii. 251-294, Medea restored Aeson to youth, not by boiling him, but by draining his body of his effete old blood and replacing it by a magic brew.) Again, when Pelops had been killed and

of the inhabitants of Iolcus, and he expelled Jason and Medea from Iolcus.

They went to Corinth, and lived there happily for ten years, till Creon, king of Corinth, betrothed his daughter Glauce to Jason, who married her and divorced Medea. But she invoked the gods by whom Jason had sworn, and after often upbraiding him with his ingratitude she sent the bride a robe steeped in poison, which when Glauce had put on, she was consumed with fierce fire along with her father, who went to her rescue.<sup>1</sup> But Mermerus and Pheres, the children whom Medea had by Jason, she killed, and having got from the Sun a car drawn by winged dragons she fled on it to Athens.<sup>2</sup> Another tradition is that on her flight she left behind her children, who were still infants, setting them as suppliants on the altar of Hera of the

served up at a banquet of the gods by his cruel father Tantalus, the deities in pity restored him to life by boiling him in a cauldron from which he emerged well and whole except for the loss of his shoulder, of which Demeter had inadvertently partaken. See Pindar, *Olymp.* i. 28. (40) *sq.*, with the Scholiast; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 152-153. For similar stories of the magical restoration of youth and life, see Appendix, "The Renewal of Youth."

<sup>1</sup> See Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 *sqq.* It is said that in her agony Glauce threw herself into a fountain, which was thenceforth named after her (Pausanias, ii. 2. 6). The fountain has been discovered and excavated in recent years. See G. W. Elderkin, "The Fountain of Glauce at Corinth," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xiv. (1910), pp. 19-50.

<sup>2</sup> In this account of the tragic end of Medea's stay at Corinth our author has followed the *Medea* of Euripides. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 54; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 391 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 25. According to Apuleius (*Metamorph.* i. 10), Medea contrived to burn the king's palace and the king himself in it, as well as his daughter.



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τῆς Ἥρας τῆς ἀκραιάς· Κορίνθιοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀναστήσαντες κατετραυμάτισαν.

Μήδεια δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας, κακεῖ γαμηθεῖσα Αἰγεῖ παῖδα γεννᾷ Μῆδον. ἐπιβουλεύουσα δὲ ὕστερον Θησεῖ φυγὰς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐκβάλλεται. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν πολλῶν κρατήσας βαρβάρων τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν χώραν ἄπασαν Μηδίαν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ στρατευόμενος ἐπὶ Ἴνδου ἀπέθανε· Μήδεια δὲ εἰς Κόλχους ἦλθεν ἄγνωστος, καὶ καταλαβοῦσα Αἰήτην ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Πέρσου τῆς βασιλείας ἐστερημένον, κτείναςα τοῦτον τῷ πατρὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀποκατέστησεν.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 3. 6; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, v. 21; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 9 and 264. Down to a comparatively late date the Corinthians used to offer annual sacrifices and perform other rites for the sake of expiating the murder of the children. Seven boys and seven girls, clad in black and with their hair shorn, had to spend a year in the sanctuary of Hera of the Height, where the murder had been perpetrated. These customs fell into desuetude after Corinth was captured by the Romans. See Pausanias, ii. 3. 7; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 264; compare Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 24.

<sup>2</sup> According to one account, Medea attempted to poison Theseus, but his father dashed the poison cup from his lips. See below, *Epitome*, i. 5 sq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 12; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 55. 4-6; Pausanias, ii. 3. 8; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 741; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Perieg.* 1017; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 406-424. According to Ovid,

Height; but the Corinthians removed them and wounded them to death.<sup>1</sup>

Medea came to Athens, and being there married to Aegæus bore him a son Medus. Afterwards, however, plotting against Theseus, she was driven a fugitive from Athens with her son.<sup>2</sup> But he conquered many barbarians and called the whole country under him Media,<sup>3</sup> and marching against the Indians he met his death. And Medea came unknown to Colchis, and finding that Aætes had been deposed by his brother Perses, she killed Perses and restored the kingdom to her father.<sup>4</sup>

the poison which Medea made use of to take off Theseus was aconite.

<sup>1</sup> For the etymology, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 55. 5 and 7, iv. 56. 1; Strabo, xi. 13. 10, p. 526; Pausanias, ii. 3. 8; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dionysius Perieg.* 1017; Hyginus, *Fab.* 27.

<sup>4</sup> According to others, it was not Medea but her son Medus who killed Perses. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 56. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 27. Cicero quotes from an otherwise unknown Latin tragedy some lines in which the deposed Aætes is represented mourning his forlorn state in an unkingly and unmanly strain (*Tusculan. Disput.* iii. 12. 26). The narrative of Hyginus has all the appearance of being derived from a tragedy, perhaps the same tragedy from which Cicero quotes. But that tragedy itself was probably based on a Greek original; for Diodorus Siculus introduces his similar account of the assassination of the usurper with the remark that the history of Medea had been embellished and distorted by the extravagant fancies of the tragedians.



## **BOOK II**

## B

I. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος διεξεληλύθαμεν γένος, ἐχομένως λέγωμεν<sup>1</sup> τὸ Ἰνάχειον.

Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος γίνεται παῖς Ἰναχος, ἀφ' οὗ ποταμὸς ἐν Ἄργει Ἰναχος καλεῖται. τούτου καὶ Μελίας<sup>2</sup> τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ Φορωνεύς τε καὶ Αἰγιαλεύς παῖδες ἐγένοντο. Αἰγιαλέως μὲν οὖν ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος ἡ χώρα ἅπασα Αἰγιαλία ἐκλήθη, Φορωνεύς δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς ὕστερον Πελοποννήσου προσαγορευθείσης δυναστεύων ἐκ Τηλεδίκης<sup>3</sup> νύμφης Ἄπιν καὶ Νιόβην ἐγέννησεν. Ἄπιν μὲν οὖν εἰς τυραννίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μεταστήσας δύναμιν καὶ βίαιος ὢν τύραννος, ὀνομάσας<sup>4</sup> ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ἄπιαν, ὑπὸ Θελξίονος καὶ Τελχίνος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἄπαις ἀπέθανε, καὶ νομισθεὶς θεὸς ἐκλήθη Σάραπις· Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διός (ἢ πρώτη γυναικὶ Ζεὺς θνητῇ ἐμίγη) παῖς Ἄργος ἐγένετο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαός

<sup>1</sup> λέγωμεν Aegius: λέγομεν A.

<sup>2</sup> Μελίας Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 22 A: μελίσης A.

<sup>3</sup> Τηλοδίκης Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 22 A: ἐκ τῆς Λαοδίκης Heyne (in the text). <sup>4</sup> ὀνομάσας Bekker, Wagner (misprint).

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<sup>1</sup> As to Inachus and his descendants, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177 (who follows Apollodorus); Pausanias, ii. 15. 5; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932; Scholiast on

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I. HAVING now gone through the family of Deucalion, we have next to speak of that of Inachus.

Ocean and Tethys had a son Inachus, after whom a river in Argos is called Inachus.<sup>1</sup> He and Melia, daughter of Ocean, had sons, Phoroneus and Aegialeus. Aegialeus having died childless, the whole country was called Aegialia; and Phoroneus, reigning over the whole land afterwards named Peloponnese, begat Apis and Niobe by a nymph Teledice. Apis converted his power into a tyranny and named the Peloponnese after himself Apia; but being a stern tyrant he was conspired against and slain by Thelxion and Telchis. He left no child, and being deemed a god was called Sarapis.<sup>2</sup> But Niobe had by Zeus (and she was the first mortal woman with whom Zeus cohabited) a son Argus, and also, so says

Homer, *Il.* i. 22. According to Apion, the flight of the Israelites from Egypt took place during the reign of Inachus at Argos. See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, x. 10. 10 sq. On the subject of Phoroneus there was an ancient epic *Phoronis*, of which a few verses have survived. See *Epigrammorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 209 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus identifies the Argive Apis with the Egyptian bull Apis, who was in turn identified with Serapis (Sarapis). As to the Egyptian Apis, see Herodotus, ii. 153 (with Wiedemann's note), iii. 27 and 28. As to Apia as a name for Peloponnese or Argos, see Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 260 sqq.; Pausanias, ii. 5. 7; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 22; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 177; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀρία.

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φῆσι, καὶ Πελασγός, ἀφ' οὗ κληθῆναι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς. Ἡσίοδος  
 2 δὲ τὸν Πελασγὸν αὐτόχθονά φησιν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ  
 περὶ μὲν τούτου πάλιν ἐροῦμεν· Ἄργος δὲ λαβῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 τὴν βασιλείαν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Πελοπόννησον  
 ἐκάλεσεν Ἄργος, καὶ γῆμας Εὐάδην τὴν Στυρ-  
 μόνος καὶ Νεαίρας ἐτέκνωσεν Ἐκβασον Πείραντα  
 Ἐπίδουρον Κρίασον, ὃς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέ-  
 λαβεν.

Ἐκβάσου δὲ Ἀγήνωρ γίνεται, τούτου δὲ Ἄργος  
 ὁ πανόπτης λεγόμενος. εἶχε δὲ οὗτος ὀφθαλμοὺς  
 μὲν ἐν παντὶ τῷ σώματι, ὑπερβάλλων δὲ δυνάμει  
 τὸν μὲν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν λυμαινόμενον ταῦρον ἀνε-  
 λὼν τὴν τούτου δορὰν ἠμφιέσατο, Σάτυρον δὲ  
 τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἀφαιρούμενον τὰ  
 βοσκηματα ὑποστάς ἀπέκτεινε. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι  
 καὶ τὴν Ταρτάρου καὶ Γῆς Ἐχιδναν, ἣ τούς  
 παριόντας συνήρπαξεν, ἐπιτηρήσας κοιμωμένην  
 ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐξεδίκησε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄπιδος φόνον,  
 τοὺς αἰτίους ἀποκτείνας.

3 Ἄργου δὲ καὶ Ἰσμήνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ παῖς  
 Ἰασος,<sup>2</sup> οὗ φασιν Ἰὼ γενέσθαι. Κάστωρ δὲ ὁ  
 συγγράψας τὰ χρονικὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν τραγικῶν  
 Ἰνάχου τὴν Ἰὼ λέγουσιν· Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ Ἄκου-

<sup>1</sup> After λαβῶν the MSS. (A) add παρὰ φορωνέως, which is omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰασος Aegius: Ἰσος A.

<sup>1</sup> See below, iii. 8. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

<sup>3</sup> As to Argus and his many eyes, compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 303 sqq.; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoen.* 1116; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 625 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145; Servius, on *Aen.* vii. 790; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*,

Acusilaus, a son Pelasgus, after whom the inhabitants of the Peloponnese were called Pelasgians. However, Hesiod says that Pelasgus was a son of the soil. About him I shall speak again.<sup>1</sup> But Argus received the kingdom and called the Peloponnese after himself Argos; and having married Evadne, daughter of Strymon and Neaera, he begat Ecbasus, Piras, Epidaurus, and Criasus,<sup>2</sup> who also succeeded to the kingdom.

Ecbasus had a son Agenor, and Agenor had a son Argus, the one who is called the All-seeing. He had eyes in the whole of his body,<sup>3</sup> and being exceedingly strong he killed the bull that ravaged Arcadia and clad himself in its hide;<sup>4</sup> and when a satyr wronged the Arcadians and robbed them of their cattle, Argus withstood and killed him. It is said, too, that Echidna,<sup>5</sup> daughter of Tartarus and Earth, who used to carry off passers-by, was caught asleep and slain by Argus. He also avenged the murder of Apis by putting the guilty to death.

Argus and Ismene, daughter of Asopus, had a son Iasus, who is said to have been the father of Io.<sup>6</sup> But the annalist Castor and many of the tragedians allege that Io was a daughter of Inachus;<sup>7</sup> and Hesiod ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 5 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 18).

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dionysius, quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoeniss.* 1116, who says merely that Argus was clad in a hide and had eyes all over his body.

<sup>2</sup> As to the monster Echidna, half woman, half snake, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 295 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 1; Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 932.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 589 sqq.; Herodotus, i. 1; Plutarch, *De malignitate Herodoti*, 11; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, iii.; *id. Dial. Marin.* vii. 1; Pausanias, iii. 18. 13; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 583 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.



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σίλαος Πειρήνος αὐτὴν φασιν εἶναι. ταύτην ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσαν Ζεὺς ἔφθειρε. φωραθεὶς δὲ ὑφ' Ἥρας τῆς μὲν κόρης ἀφάμενος εἰς βοῦν μετεμόρφωσε λευκὴν, ἀπωμόσατο δὲ ταύτην<sup>1</sup> μὴ συνελθεῖν· διό φησιν Ἡσίοδος οὐκ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὄργην τοὺς γινόμενους ὄρκους ὑπὲρ ἔρωτος. Ἥρα δὲ αἰτησαμένη παρὰ Διὸς τὴν βοῦν φύλακα αὐτῆς κατέστησεν Ἄργον τὸν πανόπτην, ὃν Φερεκύδης<sup>2</sup> μὲν Ἄρεστορος λέγει, Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ Ἰνάχου, Κέρκωψ<sup>3</sup> δὲ Ἄργου καὶ Ἰσμῆνης τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρὸς· Ἀκουσίλαος δὲ γηγενὴ αὐτὸν λέγει. οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐδέσμευεν αὐτὴν ἥτις ἐν τῷ Μυκηναίῳ ὑπήρχεν ἄλσει. Διὸς δὲ ἐπιτάξαντος Ἑρμῆ κλέψαι τὴν βοῦν, μηνύσαντος Ἰέρακος, ἐπειδὴ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, λίθῳ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἄργον, ὅθεν ἀργειφόντης ἐκλήθη. Ἥρα δὲ τῇ βοῖ οἶστρον ἐμβάλλει ἢ δὲ πρῶτον ἤκεν εἰς τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνης Ἴονιον κόλπον κληθέντα, ἔπειτα διὰ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος πορευθεῖσα καὶ τὸν Αἴμον ὑπερβαλοῦσα διέβη τὸν τότε μὲν καλούμενον πόρον Θράκιον, νῦν δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης Βόσπορον. ἀπελθοῦσα<sup>4</sup> δὲ εἰς Σκυθίαν καὶ τὴν Κιμμερίδα γῆν, πολλὴν χέρσον πλανηθεῖσα καὶ πολλὴν διανηξαμένη θάλασσαν Εὐρώπης τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ταύτην Wagner: ταύτην E: αὐτὴν A: ἀρχὴν Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> Φερεκύδης . . . Ἀσκληπιάδης Heyne (comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1116), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Ἀσκληπιάδης . . . Φερεκύδης A, Westermann.

<sup>3</sup> Κέρκωψ Aegius: κέρκωψ A.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπελθοῦσα E: ἐπελθοῦσα A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 291 sq.; Scholiast on Homer,

and Acusilaus say that she was a daughter of Piren. Zeus seduced her while she held the priesthood of Hera, but being detected by Hera he by a touch turned Io into a white cow<sup>1</sup> and swore that he had not known her; wherefore Hesiod remarks that lover's oaths do not draw down the anger of the gods. But Hera requested the cow from Zeus for herself and set Argus the All-seeing to guard it. Pherecydes says that this Argus was a son of Arestor;<sup>2</sup> but Asclepiades says that he was a son of Inachus, and Cercops says that he was a son of Argus and Ismene, daughter of Asopus; but Acusilaus says that he was earth-born.<sup>3</sup> He tethered her to the olive tree which was in the grove of the Mycenaeans. But Zeus ordered Hermes to steal the cow, and as Hermes could not do it secretly because Hierax had blabbed, he killed Argus by the cast of a stone;<sup>4</sup> whence he was called Argiphontes.<sup>5</sup> Hera next sent a gadfly to infest the cow,<sup>6</sup> and the animal came first to what is called after her the Ionian gulf. Then she journeyed through Illyria and having traversed Mount Haemus she crossed what was then called the Thracian Straits but is now called after her the Bosphorus.<sup>7</sup> And having gone away to Scythia and the Cimmerian land she wandered over great tracts of land and swam wide stretches of sea both in Europe and Asia until at last *Il. ii. 103* (who cites the present passage of Apollodorus); Ovid, *Metamorph. i. 588 sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> The passage of Pherecydes is quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1116.

<sup>2</sup> So Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 305.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 561; Scholiast on Homer, *Il. ii. 103*. <sup>4</sup> That is, slayer of Argus.

<sup>5</sup> For the wanderings of Io, goaded by the gadfly, see Aeschylus, *Suppl. 540 sqq.*, *Prometheus*, 786 (805) *sqq.*; Ovid *Metamorph. i. 724 sqq.*

*Bosporos*, "Cow's strait" or "Ox-ford."

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Ἰασίας, τελευταίου ἦκεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅπου τὴν ἀρχαίαν μορφήν ἀπολαβοῦσα γεννᾷ παρὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ ποταμῷ Ἐπαφον παῖδα. τοῦτον δὲ Ἡρα δεῖται Κουρήτων ἀφανῆ ποιῆσαι· οἱ δὲ ἠφάνισαν αὐτόν. καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν αἰσθόμενος κτείνει Κούρητας, Ἰὼ δὲ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τοῦ παιδὸς ἐτράπετο. πλανωμένη δὲ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ἄπασαν (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐμνηύετο <ὄτι<sup>2</sup> ἦ><sup>3</sup> τοῦ Βυβλίων βασιλέως <γυνῆ><sup>4</sup> ἐτίθηνει τὸν υἱόν) καὶ τὸν Ἐπαφον εὐρούσα, εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθοῦσα ἐγαμήθη Τηλεγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τότε Αἰγυπτίων. ἰδρύσατο δὲ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν Ἴσιον Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ Ἴσιον ὁμοίως προσηγόρευσαν.

- 4 Ἐπαφος δὲ βασιλεύων Αἰγυπτίων γαμεί Μέμφιν τὴν Νείλου θυγατέρα, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης κτίζει Μέμφιν πόλιν, καὶ τεκνοῖ θυγατέρα Λιβύην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ χώρα Λιβύη ἐκλήθη. Λιβύης δὲ καὶ Ποσειδῶνος γίνονται παῖδες δίδυμοι Ἀγῆνωρ καὶ Βῆλος. Ἀγῆνωρ μὲν οὖν εἰς Φοινίκην ἀπαλλαγείς ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ κεῖ τῆς μεγάλης ρίζης ἐγένετο γενεάρχης· ὅθεν ὑπερθησόμεθα περὶ τούτου. Βῆλος δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ βασιλεύει μὲν Αἰγύπτου, γαμεί δὲ Ἀγχινόην<sup>5</sup> τὴν Νείλου θυγατέρα, καὶ αὐτῷ γίνονται παῖδες δίδυμοι,

<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν A : ἦει E.    <sup>2</sup> ὄτι inserted by Bekker : ὡς Heyne.

<sup>3</sup> ἦ a conjecture of Heyne's.    <sup>4</sup> γυνῆ inserted by Aegius.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀγχινόην A, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42 (citing the Second Book of Apollodorus) : Ἀγχιρρόη Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B : Ἀχιρρόη Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 353, and *Schol. on Lycophron*, 583.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 846 (865) *sqq.*; Herodotus, ii. 153, iii. 27; Ovid, *Metamorph.* i. 748 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

<sup>2</sup> Isis, whom the ancients sometimes identified with Io (see

she came to Egypt, where she recovered her original form and gave birth to a son Epaphus beside the river Nile.<sup>1</sup> Him Hera besought the Curetes to make away with, and make away with him they did. When Zeus learned of it, he slew the Curetes; but Io set out in search of the child. She roamed all over Syria, because there it was revealed to her that the wife of the king of Byblus was nursing her son; <sup>2</sup> and having found Epaphus she came to Egypt and was married to Telegonus, who then reigned over the Egyptians. And she set up an image of Demeter, whom the Egyptians called Isis,<sup>3</sup> and Io likewise they called by the name of Isis.<sup>4</sup>

Reigning over the Egyptians Epaphus married Memphis, daughter of Nile, founded and named the city of Memphis after her, and begat a daughter Libya, after whom the region of Libya was called.<sup>5</sup> Libya had by Poseidon twin sons, Agenor and Belus.<sup>6</sup> Agenor departed to Phoenicia and reigned there, and there he became the ancestor of the great stock; hence we shall defer our account of him.<sup>7</sup> But Belus remained in Egypt, reigned over the country, and married Anchinoë, daughter of Nile, by whom he had twin

below), is said to have nursed the infant son of the king of Byblus. See Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 15 sq. Both stories probably reflect the search said to have been instituted by Isis for the body of the dead Osiris.

<sup>1</sup> For the identification of Demeter with Isis, see Herodotus, ii. 59, 156; Diodorus Siculus, i. 13. 5, i. 25. 1, i. 96. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus remarked (ii. 41) that in art Isis was represented like Io as a woman with cow's horns. For the identification of Io and Isis, see Diodorus Siculus, i. 24. 8; Lucian, *Dial. deorum*, iii.; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* i. 21. 106, p. 382, ed. Potter; Propertius, iii. 20. 17 sq.; Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. 526 sqq.; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 2. 101 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 145.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 894.

<sup>4</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 349 sq.

<sup>7</sup> See below, iii. 1.

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Αἴγυπτος καὶ Δαναός, ὡς δέ φησιν Εὐριπίδης, καὶ Κηφεὺς καὶ Φινεὺς προσέτι. Δαναὸν μὲν οὖν Βῆλος ἐν Λιβύῃ κατώκισεν,<sup>1</sup> Αἴγυπτον δὲ ἐν Ἀραβία, ὅς καὶ καταστρεψάμενος<sup>2</sup> τὴν Μελαμπόδων<sup>3</sup> χώραν <ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ><sup>4</sup> ὠνόμασεν Αἴγυπτον. γίνονται δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν γυναικῶν Αἰγύπτῳ μὲν παῖδες πεντήκοντα, θυγατέρες δὲ Δαναῶν πεντήκοντα. στασιασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς<sup>5</sup> ὕστερον, Δαναὸς τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας δεδοικώς, ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναῦν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνθήμενος ἔφυγε. προσσχῶν<sup>6</sup> δὲ Ῥόδῳ τὸ τῆς Λινδίας<sup>7</sup> ἄγαλμα Ἀθηνᾶς ἰδρύσατο. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδίδωσι Γελάνωρ<sup>8</sup> ὁ τότε βασιλεύων <αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασε>.<sup>9</sup> ἀνδρὸν δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπαρχούσης,

<sup>1</sup> κατώκισεν R : κατώκησεν A.

<sup>2</sup> καταστρεψάμενος Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B : κατασκαψάμενος A.

<sup>3</sup> μελαμπόδων R, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 25 B, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6 : μὲν λαμπάδων A.

<sup>4</sup> ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ added by Aegius from the Scholiasts on Homer and Plato, *ll. cc.*

<sup>5</sup> περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς omitted by Heyne and Bekker. Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, στασιάντων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς.

<sup>6</sup> προσσχῶν Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42 : προσάγων A.

<sup>7</sup> λινδίας R : λυδίας A.

<sup>8</sup> Γελάνωρ Heyne; compare Pausanias ii. 16. 1, ii. 19. 3, *sq.* : πελάνωρ A : ἐλλάνωρ Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42.

<sup>9</sup> αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασεν. These words are cited in the present connexion by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, as from the Second Book of Apollodorus. They are inserted by Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, and Müller, but omitted by Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner.

sons, Egyptus and Danaus,<sup>1</sup> but according to Euripides, he had also Cepheus and Phineus. Danaus was settled by Belus in Libya, and Egyptus in Arabia; but Egyptus subjugated the country of the Melampods and named it Egypt after himself. Both had children by many wives; Egyptus had fifty sons, and Danaus fifty daughters. As they afterwards quarrelled concerning the kingdom, Danaus feared the sons of Egyptus, and by the advice of Athena he built a ship, being the first to do so, and having put his daughters on board he fled. And touching at Rhodes he set up the image of Lindian Athena.<sup>2</sup> Thence he came to Argos and the reigning king Gelanor surrendered the kingdom to him;<sup>3</sup> and having made himself master of the country he named the inhabitants Danai after himself. But the country being

<sup>1</sup> The following account of Egyptus and Danaus, including the settlement of Danaus and his daughters at Argos, is quoted verbally, with a few omissions and changes, by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* i. 42, who mentions the second book of Apollodorus as his authority. Compare Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 318 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 886, and *Orestes*, 872; Hyginus, *Fab.* 168; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 497.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Herodotus, ii. 182; *Marmor Parium*, 15-17, pp. 544, 546, ed. C. Müller (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. i.); Diodorus Siculus, v. 58. 1; Strabo, xiv. 2. 11, p. 655; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, iii. 8. As to the worship of the goddess, see Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times* (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 74 *sq.*, 94 *sq.* In recent years a chronicle of the temple of Lindian Athena has been discovered in Rhodes: it is inscribed on a marble slab. See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La Chronique du temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 1, ii. 19. 3 *sq.*

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ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰς πηγὰς ἐξήρανε Ποσειδῶν μηνίων Ἰνάχῳ διότι τὴν χώραν Ἦρας<sup>1</sup> ἐμαρτύρησεν εἶναι, τὰς θυγατέρας ὑδρευσομένας ἐπεμψε. μία δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμυμώνη ζητοῦσα ὕδωρ ρίπτει βέλος ἐπὶ ἔλαφον καὶ κοιμωμένου Σατύρου τυγχάνει, κάκεινος περιαναστὰς ἐπεθύμει συγγενέσθαι. Ποσειδῶνος δὲ ἐπιφανέντος ὁ Σάτυρος μὲν ἔφυγεν, Ἀμυμώνη δὲ τούτῳ συνευνάζεται, καὶ αὐτῇ Ποσειδῶν τὰς ἐν Λέρνῃ πηγὰς ἐμήνυσεν.

- 5 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτου παῖδες ἐλθόντες εἰς Ἄργος τῆς τε ἔχθρας παύσασθαι παρεκάλουν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ γαμεῖν ἤξιουν. Δαναὸς δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἀπιστῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐπαγγέλμασιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μνησικακῶν περὶ τῆς φυγῆς, ὠμολόγει τοὺς γάμους καὶ διεκλήρου τὰς κόρας. Ὑπερμνήστραν μὲν οὖν τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἐξεῖλον Λυγκεῖ καὶ Γοργοφόνην<sup>2</sup> Πρωτεῖ· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ βασιλίδος γυναικὸς Ἀργυφίης ἐγεγόνεισαν Αἰγύπτῳ. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἔλαχον Βούσιρις μὲν καὶ Ἐγκέλαδος καὶ Λύκος καὶ Δαίφρων τὰς Δαναῶν γεννηθείσας ἐξ Εὐρώπης Ἀυτομάτην Ἀμυμώνην Ἀγαυὴν Σκαιήν. αὗται δὲ ἐκ βασιλίδος ἐγένοντο Δαναῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἐλεφαντίδος Γοργοφόνη καὶ Ὑπερμνήστρα.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἦρας Heyne, comparing Pausanias, ii. 15, 5: Ἄθηνᾶς Α.

<sup>2</sup> Γοργοφόνην Aegius: γοργοφόντην Α.

<sup>3</sup> After Ὑπερμνήστρα the MSS. (A) add Λυγκεὺς δὲ Καλύκην ἔλαχεν. These words are rightly omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne: they are bracketed by C. Müller, but retained by Westermann and Bekker.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 15. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 187 sqq.; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* vi.; Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 8; Scholiast on Homer,

waterless, because Poseidon had dried up even the springs out of anger at Inachus for testifying that the land belonged to Hera,<sup>1</sup> Danaus sent his daughters to draw water. One of them, Amymone, in her search for water threw a dart at a deer and hit a sleeping satyr, and he, starting up, desired to force her; but Poseidon appearing on the scene, the satyr fled, and Amymone lay with Poseidon, and he revealed to her the springs at Lerna.<sup>2</sup>

But the sons of Egyptus came to Argos, and exhorted Danaus to lay aside his enmity, and begged to marry his daughters. Now Danaus distrusted their professions and bore them a grudge on account of his exile; nevertheless he consented to the marriage and allotted the damsels among them.<sup>3</sup> First, they picked out Hypermnestra as the eldest to be the wife of Lynceus, and Gorgophone to be the wife of Proteus; for Lynceus and Proteus had been borne to Egyptus by a woman of royal blood, Argyphia; but of the rest Busiris, Enceladus, Lycus, and Daiphron obtained by lot the daughters that had been borne to Danaus by Europe, to wit, Automate, Amymone, Agave, and Scaea. These daughters were borne to Danaus by a queen; but Gorgophone and Hypermnestra were borne to him

*Il.* iv. 171; Propertius, iii. 18. 47 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 169. There was a stream called Amymone at Lerna. See Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371; Pausanias, ii. 37. 1 and 4; Hyginus, *l.c.*

<sup>3</sup> For the marriage of the sons of Egyptus with the daughters of Danaus, and its tragic sequel, see Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hecuba*, 886, and *Orestes*, 872; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iv. 171; Hyginus, *Fab.* 168; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* x. 497. With the list of names of the bridal pairs as recorded by Apollodorus, compare the list given by Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.



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Ἰστρος δὲ Ἴπποδάμειαν, Χαλκῶδων Ῥοδίαν, Ἀγηνώρ Κλεοπάτραν, Χαΐτος Ἀστερίαν, Διοκορυστῆς Ἴπποδαμείαν,<sup>1</sup> Ἄλκης<sup>2</sup> Γλαύκην, Ἀλκμήνωρ Ἴππομέδουσαν, Ἴππόθοος Γόργην, Εὐχήνωρ Ἴφιμέδουσαν, Ἴππόλυτος Ῥόδην. οὗτοι μὲν οἱ δέκα ἐξ Ἀραβίας γυναικός, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι ἐξ ἁμαδρυάδων νυμφῶν, αἱ μὲν Ἀτλαντεῖς, αἱ δὲ ἐκ Φοίβης. Ἀγαπτόλεμος δὲ ἔλαχε Πειρήνην, Κερκέτης δὲ Δώριον, Εὐρυδάμας Φάρτιν,<sup>3</sup> Αἴγιος Μνήστραν, Ἄργιος Εὐίππην, Ἀρχέλαος Ἀναξιβίην, Μενέμαχος Νηλώ, οἱ <μὲν> ἑπτὰ ἐκ Φοιρίσσης γυναικός, αἱ δὲ παρθένοι Αἰθιοπίδος. ἀκληρωτὶ δὲ ἔλαχον δι' ὁμωνυμίαν τὰς Μέμφιδος οἱ ἐκ Τυρίας, Κλειτὸς Κλειτήν, Σθένελος Σθενέλην, Χρῦσιππος Χρυσίππην. οἱ δὲ ἐκ Καλιάδνης νηίδος νύμφης παῖδες δώδεκα ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐκ Πολυξοῦς νηίδος νύμφης· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ μὲν παῖδες Εὐρύλοχος Φάντης Περισθένης Ἔρμος Δρύας Ποταμῶν Κισσεὺς Λίξος Ἴμβρος Βρομῖος Πολύκτωρ Χθονίος, αἱ δὲ κόραι Αὐτονόη Θεανὼ Ἥλέκτρα Κλεοπάτρα Εὐρυδίκη Γλαυκίππη Ἀνθήλεια Κλεοδῶρη Εὐίππη Ἐρατὼ Στύγη Βρύκη. οἱ δὲ <ἐκ> Γοργόνος Αἰγύπτῳ γενόμενοι ἐκληρώσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας, καὶ λαγχάνει Περύφας μὲν Ἀκταίην, Οἰνεὺς δὲ Ποδάρκην, Αἴγυπτος

<sup>1</sup> Ἴπποδάμειαν. This name has already occurred two lines higher up; hence Heyne conjectured Κλεοδάμειαν or Φιλοδάμειαν, comparing Pausanias, iv. 30. 2 (where the better reading seems to be Φυλοδάμεια). Wagner conjectured Ἴπποθόην, comparing Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄλκης R: ἄλκεις A.

<sup>3</sup> Φάρτιν R: φάρτην A: φαιναρέτην Hercher. Heyne conjectured Φάρην.

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by Elephantis. And Istrus got Hippodamia; Chalcodon got Rhodia; Agenor got Cleopatra; Chaetus got Asteria; Diocorystes got Hippodamia; Alces got Glauce; Alcmenor got Hippomedusa; Hippothous got Gorge; Euchenor got Iphimedusa; Hippolytus got Rhode. These ten sons were begotten on an Arabian woman; but the maidens were begotten on Hamadryad nymphs, some being daughters of Atlantia, and others of Phoebe. Agaptolemus got Pirene; Cercetes got Dorium; Eurydamas got Phartis; Aegius got Mnestra; Argius got Evippe; Archelaus got Anaxibia; Menemachus got Nelo. These seven sons were begotten on a Phoenician woman, and the maidens on an Ethiopian woman. The sons of Egyptus by Tyria got as their wives, without drawing lots, the daughters of Danaus by Memphis in virtue of the similarity of their names; thus Clitus got Clite; Sthenelus got Sthenele; Chrysippus got Chryssippe. The twelve sons of Egyptus by the Naiad nymph Caliadne cast lots for the daughters of Danaus by the Naiad nymph Polyxo: the sons were Eurylochus, Phantes, Peristhenes, Hermus, Dryas, Potamon, Cisseus, Lixus, Imbrus, Bromius, Polyctor, Chthonius; and the damsels were Autonoe, Theano, Electra, Cleopatra, Eurydice, Glaucippe, Anthelia, Cleodore, Evippe, Erato, Stygne, Bryce. The sons of Egyptus by Gorgo, cast lots for the daughters of Danaus by Pieria, and Periphas got Actaea, Oeneus got Podarce, Egyptus

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Διωξίππην, Μενάλκης Ἀδίτην, Λάμπος Ὀκυπέτην, Ἴδμων Πυλάρην. οὗτοι<sup>1</sup> δὲ εἰσι νεώτατοι· Ἴδας Ἴπποδίκην, Δαίφρων Ἀδιάντην (αὐταὶ δὲ ἐκ μητρὸς ἐγένοντο Ἔρσης), Πανδίων Καλλιδικήν, Ἄρβηλος Οἴμην, Ἐπέρβιος Κελαινώ, Ἴπποκορυστῆς Ἐπερίππην· οὗτοι ἐξ Ἐφαιστίνης, αἱ δὲ ἐκ Κρινοῦς.

Ὡς δὲ ἐκληρώσαντο<sup>2</sup> τοὺς γάμους, ἐστίασας ἐγχειρίδια δίδωσι ταῖς θυγατράσιν. αἱ δὲ κοιμωμένους τοὺς νυμφίους ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν Ἐπερμνήστρας· αὕτη γὰρ Λυγκέα διέσωσε παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξαντα· διὸ καθείρξας αὐτὴν Δαναὸς ἐφρούρει. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς τῶν νυμφίων ἐν τῇ Λέρνῃ κατώρυξαν, τὰ δὲ σώματα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. καὶ αὐτὰς ἐκάθηραν Ἀθηναῖα τε καὶ Ἑρμῆς Διὸς κελεύσαντος. Δαναὸς δὲ ὕστερον Ἐπερμνήστραν Λυγκεῖ συνώκισε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς θυγατέρας εἰς γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἔδωκεν.

Ἀμμύωνη δὲ ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε Ναύπλιον. οὗτος μακρόβιος γενόμενος, πλέων τὴν θάλασσαν, τοῖς ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἐπυρσο-

<sup>1</sup> οὗτοι Heyne (conjecture), Westermann: οἱ δὲ νεώτατοι (omitting εἰσι) Hercher: ὀκτώ MSS., Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne (in text), Bekker: †ὀκτώ Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκληρώσαντο EA: ἐκληρώσατο Wagner, comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 6, where, however, we should rather read ἐκληρώσαντο instead of ἐκληρώσατο; for the middle voice of κληροῦν cannot be used in the sense of "allotting."

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pindar, *Nem.* i. 6 (10), with the Scholiast; Pausanias, ii. 19. 6, ii. 20. 7, ii. 21. 1 and 2; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 11. 30 sqq.; Ovid, *Heroides*, xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 86. According to Pausanias

got Dioxippe, Menalces got Adite, Lampus got Ocy-pete, Idmon got Pylarge. The youngest sons of Egyptus were these: Idas got Hippodice; Daiphron got Adriante (the mother who bore these damsels was Herse); Pandion got Callidice; Arbelus got Oeme; Hyperbius got Celaeno; Hippocorystes got Hyperippe; the mother of these men was Hephaestine, and the mother of these damsels was Crino.

When they had got their brides by lot, Danaus made a feast and gave his daughters daggers; and they slew their bridegrooms as they slept, all but Hypermnestra; for she saved Lynceus because he had respected her virginity:<sup>1</sup> wherefore Danaus shut her up and kept her under ward. But the rest of the daughters of Danaus buried the heads of their bridegrooms in Lerna<sup>2</sup> and paid funeral honours to their bodies in front of the city; and Athena and Hermes purified them at the command of Zeus. Danaus afterwards united Hypermnestra to Lynceus; and bestowed his other daughters on the victors in an athletic contest.<sup>3</sup>

Amymone had a son Nauplius by Poseidon.<sup>4</sup> This Nauplius lived to a great age, and sailing the sea he used by beacon lights to lure to death such as he fell

(ii. 24. 2) the heads of the sons of Egyptus were buried on the Larisa, the acropolis of Argos, and the headless trunks were buried at Lerna.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pindar, *Pyth.* ix. 112 (195), with the Scholiasts; Pausanias, iii. 12. 2. The legend may reflect an old custom of racing for a bride. See *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 299 sqq. It is said that Danaus instituted games which were celebrated every fifth (or, as we should say, every fourth) year, and at which the prize of the victor in the foot-race was a shield. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 170.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Strabo, viii. 6. 2, p. 368; Pausanias, ii. 38. 2, iv. 35. 2.

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φόρει.<sup>1</sup> συνέβη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸν τελευτῆσαι ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ.<sup>2</sup> πρὶν δὲ τελευτῆσαι ἔγημε<sup>3</sup> ὡς μὲν οἱ τραγικοὶ λέγουσι, Κλυμένην τὴν Κατρέως, ὡς δὲ ὁ τοῖς νόστοις γράψας, Φιλύραν, ὡς δὲ Κέρκωψ,<sup>4</sup> Ἡσιόνην, καὶ ἐγέννησε Παλαμήδην Οἰάκα Ναυσιμέδοντα.

II. Λυγκεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δαναὸν Ἄργους δυναστεύων ἐξ Ἑπερμνήστρας τεκνοῖ παῖδα Ἄβαντα. τούτου δὲ καὶ Ἀγλαίας<sup>5</sup> τῆς Μαντινέως δίδυμοι παῖδες ἐγένοντο Ἀκρίσιος καὶ Προῖτος. οὗτοι καὶ κατὰ γαστρὸς μὲν ἔτι ὄντες ἐστασίαζον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὡς δὲ ἀνετράφησαν, περὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπολέμουν, καὶ πολεμοῦντες εὖρον ἀσπίδας πρῶτοι. καὶ κρατήσας Ἀκρίσιος Προῖτον Ἄργους ἐξελαύνει. ὁ δ' ἦκεν εἰς Λυκίαν πρὸς Ἰοβάτην, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασι, πρὸς Ἀμφιάνακτα· καὶ γαμῆ τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, ὡς μὲν Ὀμηρος, Ἄντειαν, ὡς δὲ οἱ τραγικοί, Σθενέβοιαν. κατάγει δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ κηδεστὴς μετὰ στρατοῦ Λυκίων, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπυρσοφόρει J. Kuhn, on Pausanias, ii. 25. 4: ἔδυσφόρει MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ. After these words the MSS. add *ἔπερ τῶν ἄλλων τελευτησάντων ἔδυσφόρει*, which appears to be a corrupt and ungrammatical gloss on ἐκείνῳ τῷ θανάτῳ. The clause is retained by Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, and Wagner, but is rightly omitted by Hercher. J. Kuhn (*l.c.*) proposed to retain the clause, but to alter *ἔδυσφόρει* as before into *ἐπυρσοφόρει*; but this would not suffice to restore the grammar and sense. For such a restoration a sentence like *ἔπερ ἄλλους τελευτῆσαι ἐποίησε πυρσοφορῶν* would be required.

<sup>3</sup> πρὶν δὲ τελευτῆσαι ἔγημε A: πρὶν τελευτῆσαι. ἔγημε δὲ Wagner (connecting πρὶν τελευτῆσαι with the preceding sentence).

<sup>4</sup> Κέρκωψ Aegius: κέρκωψ A.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀγλαίας Heyne, comparing Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 965: ἀγαλλίας A: Ὠκαλείας Aegius, Commelinus, Gale.

in with.<sup>1</sup> It came to pass, therefore, that he himself died by that very death. But before his death he married a wife; according to the tragic poets, she was Clymene, daughter of Catreus; but according to the author of *The Returns*,<sup>2</sup> she was Philyra; and according to Cercops she was Hesione. By her he had Palamedes, Oeax, and Nausimedon.

II. Lynceus reigned over Argos after Danaus and begat a son Abas by Hypermnestra; and Abas had twin sons Acrisius and Proetus<sup>3</sup> by Aglaia, daughter of Mantineus. These two quarrelled with each other while they were still in the womb, and when they were grown up they waged war for the kingdom,<sup>4</sup> and in the course of the war they were the first to invent shields. And Acrisius gained the mastery and drove Proetus from Argos; and Proetus went to Lycia to the court of Iobates or, as some say, of Amphianax, and married his daughter, whom Homer calls Antia,<sup>5</sup> but the tragic poets call her Stheneboea.<sup>6</sup> His father-in-law restored him to his own land with an

<sup>1</sup> See below, *Epitome*, vi. 7-11.

<sup>2</sup> *Nostoi*, an epic poem describing the return of the Homeric heroes from Troy. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 52 *sqq.*; Hesiod, in this series, pp. 524 *sqq.*; D. B. Monro, in his edition of Homer, *Odyssey*, Bks. xiii.-xxiv. pp. 378-382.

<sup>3</sup> With this and what follows compare Pausanias ii. 16. 2, ii. 25. 7.

<sup>4</sup> So the twins Esau and Jacob quarrelled both in the womb and in after life (Genesis, xxv. 21 *sqq.*). Compare Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, pp. 279 *sq.*, who argues that Proetus was the elder twin, who, as in the case of Esau and Jacob, was worsted by his younger brother.

<sup>5</sup> Homer, *Il.* vi. 160.

<sup>6</sup> See below, ii. 3. 1, iii. 9. 1. Euripides called her Stheneboea (Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* vi. 158, p. 632).

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καταλαμβάνει Τίρυνθα, ταύτην αὐτῷ Κυκλώπων  
 τειχισάντων. μερισάμενοι δὲ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν  
 ἅπασαν κατώκουν, καὶ Ἀκρίσιος μὲν Ἄργους  
 2 βασιλεύει, Προΐτος δὲ Τίρυνθος. καὶ γίνεται  
 Ἀκρισίῳ μὲν ἐξ Εὐρυδίκης τῆς Λακεδαίμονος  
 Δανάη, Προΐτῳ δὲ ἐκ Σθενεβοίας Λυσιππη καὶ  
 Ἴφινόη καὶ Ἰφιάνασσα. αὐταὶ δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώ-  
 θησαν, ἐμάνησαν, ὡς μὲν Ἡσιόδός φησιν, ὅτι τὰς  
 Διονύσου τελετὰς οὐ κατεδέχοντο, ὡς δὲ Ἀκου-  
 σίλαος λέγει, διότι τὸ τῆς Ἥρας ξόανον ἐξηγτέ-  
 λισαν. γενόμεναι δὲ ἐμμανεῖς ἐπλανῶντο ἀνὰ  
 τὴν Ἀργεῖαν ἅπασαν, αὐθις δὲ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν  
 καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον<sup>1</sup> διελθοῦσαι μετ' ἀκοσ-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον omitted by Hercher and Wagner.  
 We should perhaps read καὶ τὴν <λοιπὴν> Πελοπόννησον.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Bacchylides, *Epinic.* x. 77 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 25. 8; Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Bacchylides, *Epinic.* x. 40-112; Herodotus, ix. 34; Strabo, viii. 3. 19, p. 346; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 68; Pausanias, ii. 7. 8, ii. 18. 4, v. 5. 10, viii. 18. 7 sq.; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 13 (30); Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 4. 26, p. 844, ed. Potter; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀζανία; Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 48 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xv. 325 sqq.; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxv. 47; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 48; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 453; Vitruvius, viii. 3. 21. Of these writers, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and, in one passage (ii. 18. 4), Pausanias, speak of the madness of the Argive women in general, without mentioning the daughters of Proetus in particular. And, according to Diodorus Siculus, with whom Pausanias in the same passage (ii. 18. 4) agrees, the king of Argos at the time of the affair was not Proetus but Anaxagoras, son of Megapenthes. As to Megapenthes, see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 4. According to Virgil the damsels imagined that they were turned into cows; and Servius and Lactantius Placidus inform us that this notion was infused into their minds by Hera (Juno) to punish them for the airs of superiority which they

army of Lycians, and he occupied Tiryns, which the Cyclopes had fortified for him.<sup>1</sup> They divided the whole of the Argive territory between them and settled in it, Acrisius reigning over Argos and Proetus over Tiryns. And Acrisius had a daughter Danae by Eurydice, daughter of Lacedaemon, and Proetus had daughters, Lysippe, Iphinoe, and Iphianassa, by Stheneboea. When these damsels were grown up, they went mad,<sup>2</sup> according to Hesiod, because they would not accept the rites of Dionysus, but according to Acusilaus, because they disparaged the wooden image of Hera. In their madness they roamed over the whole Argive land, and afterwards, passing through Arcadia and the Peloponnese, assamed towards her; indeed, in one place Lactantius Placidus says that the angry goddess turned them into heifers outright. In these legends Mr. A. B. Cook sees reminiscences of priestesses who assumed the attributes and assimilated themselves to the likeness of the cow-goddess Hera. See his *Zeus*, i. 451 *sqq.* But it is possible that the tradition describes, with mythical accessories, a real form of madness by which the Argive women, or some portion of them, were temporarily affected. We may compare a somewhat similar form of temporary insanity to which the women of the wild Jakun tribe in the Malay Peninsula are said to be liable. "A curious complaint was made to the Penghulu of Piang-gu, in my presence, by a Jakun man from the Anak Endau. He stated that all the women of his settlement were frequently seized by a kind of madness—presumably some form of hysteria—and that they ran off singing into the jungle, each woman by herself, and stopped there for several days and nights, finally returning almost naked, or with their clothes all torn to shreds. He said that the first outbreak of this kind occurred a few years ago, and that they were still frequent, one usually taking place every two or three months. They were started by one of the women, whereupon all the others followed suit." See Ivor H. N. Evans, "Further Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of Pahang," *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, vol. ix. part 1, January 1920, p. 27 (Calcutta, 1920).



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μίας ἀπάσης διὰ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐτρόχαζον. Μελάμπους δὲ ὁ Ἀμυθάονος καὶ Εἰδομένης τῆς Ἄβαντος, μάντις ὦν καὶ τὴν διὰ φαρμάκων καὶ καθαρμῶν θεραπείαν πρῶτος εὐρηκῶς, ὑπισχνεῖται θεραπεύειν τὰς παρθένους, εἰ λάβοι τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς δυναστείας. οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντος δὲ Προΐτου θεραπεύειν ἐπὶ μισθοῖς τηλικούτοις, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμαίνοντο αἱ παρθένοι καὶ προσέτι μετὰ τούτων αἱ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες· καὶ γὰρ αὐταὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀπολιπούσαι τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπώλλουν παῖδας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐφοίτων. προβαινούσης δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τῆς συμφορᾶς, τοὺς αἰτηθέντας μισθοὺς ὁ Προΐτος ἐδίδου. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο θεραπεύειν ὅταν ἕτερον τοσοῦτον τῆς γῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ λάβῃ Βίας. Προΐτος δὲ εὐλαβηθεὶς μὴ βραδυνούσης τῆς θεραπείας αἰτηθεῖη καὶ πλείον, θεραπεύειν συνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τούτοις. Μελάμπους δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν νεανιῶν μετ' ἀλαλαγμοῦ καὶ τινος ἐνθέου χορείας ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν αὐτὰς εἰς Σικυῶνα συνεδίωξε. κατὰ δὲ τὸν διωγμὸν ἡ πρεσβυτάτη τῶν θυγατέρων Ἰφινόη μετήλλαξεν· ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς τυχούσαι καθαρμῶν σωφρονῆσαι συνέβη. καὶ ταύτας μὲν ἐξέδοτο Προΐτος Μελάμποδι καὶ Βίαντι, παῖδα δ' ὕστερον ἐγέννησε Μεγαπένθην.

III. Βελλεροφόντης δὲ ὁ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σισύφου, κτείνας ἀκουσίως ἀδελφὸν Δηλιάδην,<sup>1</sup> ὡς δέ τινες φασὶ Πειρήνα,<sup>2</sup> ἄλλοι δὲ Ἀλκιμένην, πρὸς Προΐ-

<sup>1</sup> Δηλιάδην J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 812: ἰλιάδην A.

<sup>2</sup> Πειρήνα J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, vii. 812: Πείρην A, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87.

they ran through the desert in the most disorderly fashion. But Melampus, son of Amythaon by Idomene, daughter of Abas, being a seer and the first to devise the cure by means of drugs and purifications, promised to cure the maidens if he should receive the third part of the sovereignty. When Proetus refused to pay so high a fee for the cure, the maidens raved more than ever, and besides that, the other women raved with them; for they also abandoned their houses, destroyed their own children, and flocked to the desert. Not until the evil had reached a very high pitch did Proetus consent to pay the stipulated fee, and Melampus promised to effect a cure whenever his brother Bias should receive just so much land as himself. Fearing that, if the cure were delayed, yet more would be demanded of him, Proetus agreed to let the physician proceed on these terms. So Melampus, taking with him the most stalwart of the young men, chased the women in a bevy from the mountains to Sicyon with shouts and a sort of frenzied dance. In the pursuit Iphinoe, the eldest of the daughters, expired; but the others were lucky enough to be purified and so to recover their wits.<sup>1</sup> Proetus gave them in marriage to Melampus and Bias, and afterwards begat a son, Megapenthes.

III. Bellerophon, son of Glaucus, son of Sisyphus, having accidentally killed his brother Deliades or, as some say, Piren, or, as others will have it, Alcimenes,

<sup>1</sup> According to Bacchylides (*Epinic.* x. 95 *sqq.*), the father of the damsels vowed to sacrifice twenty red oxen to the Sun, if his daughters were healed: the vow was heard, and on the intercession of Artemis the angry Hera consented to allow the cure.

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τον ἐλθὼν καθαίρεται. καὶ αὐτοῦ Σθενέβοια ἔρωτα ἴσχει, καὶ προσπέμπει<sup>1</sup> λόγους περὶ συνουσίας. τοῦ δὲ ἀπαρνουμένου, λέγει πρὸς Προΐτου ὅτι Βελλεροφόντης αὐτῇ περὶ φθορᾶς προσεπέμψατο λόγους. Προΐτος δὲ πιστεύσας ἔδωκεν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἰοβάτην κομίσαι,<sup>2</sup> ἐν αἷς ἐνεγέγραπτο Βελλεροφόντην ἀποκτείνειν. Ἰοβάτης δὲ ἀναγνοὺς<sup>3</sup> ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ Χίμαιραν κτείνειν, νομίζων αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρίου διαφθαρῆσθαι· ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐνὶ ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον, εἶχε δὲ προτομὴν μὲν λέοντος, οὐρὰν δὲ δράκοντος, τρίτην δὲ κεφαλὴν μέσσην αἰγός, δι' ἧς πῦρ ἀνίει. καὶ τὴν χώραν διέφθειρε, καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἐλυμαίνετο· μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν.<sup>4</sup> λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν Χίμαιραν ταύτην<sup>5</sup> τραφῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀμισωδάρου, καθάπερ εἶρηκε καὶ Ὅμηρος, γεννηθῆναι δὲ ἐκ Τυφῶνος καὶ Ἐχίδνης, καθὼς Ἡσίοδος ἱστορεῖ.

2 ἀναβιβάσας οὖν ἑαυτὸν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐπὶ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> προσπέμπει Faber: προπέμπει A.

<sup>2</sup> κομίσαι Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87): κομίσειν A, Heyne, Müller: κομίζειν Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> ἀναγνοὺς Hercher, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87): ἐπιγνοὺς A.

<sup>4</sup> μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν. Wagner would transpose this sentence so as to make it follow immediately the words πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον above, omitting the following εἶχε δὲ. The sentence would then run: ἦν γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἐνὶ ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς οὐκ εὐάλωτον· μία γὰρ φύσις τριῶν θηρίων εἶχε δύναμιν, προτομὴν μὲν λέοντος κτλ. The change improves the sense and is confirmed by Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὴν Χίμαιραν ταύτην omitted by Hercher and Wagner, following Heyne.

came to Proetus and was purified.<sup>1</sup> And Stheneboea fell in love with him,<sup>2</sup> and sent him proposals for a meeting; and when he rejected them, she told Proetus that Bellerophon had sent her a vicious proposal. Proetus believed her, and gave him a letter to take to Iobates, in which it was written that he was to kill Bellerophon. Having read the letter, Iobates ordered him to kill the Chimera, believing that he would be destroyed by the beast, for it was more than a match for many, let alone one; it had the fore part of a lion, the tail of a dragon, and its third head, the middle one, was that of a goat, through which it belched fire. And it devastated the country and harried the cattle; for it was a single creature with the power of three beasts. It is said, too, that this Chimera was bred by Amisodares, as Homer also affirms,<sup>3</sup> and that it was begotten by Typhon on Echidna, as Hesiod relates.<sup>4</sup> So Bellerophon mounted

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 17; *id. Chiliades*, vii. 810 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 155. According to one account, mentioned by these writers, Bellerophon received his name (meaning slayer of Bellerus) because he had slain a tyrant of Corinth called Bellerus.

<sup>2</sup> In the following story of Bellerophon, our author follows Homer, *Il.* vi. 155 *sqq.* (where the wife of Proetus is called Antia instead of Stheneboea). Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 17; *id. Chiliades*, vii. 816 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87 (who probably followed Apollodorus); Hyginus, *Fab.* 57; *id. Astronom.* ii. 18; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 24, 119 (First Vatican Mythographer, 71 and 72; Second Vatican Mythographer, 131). Euripides composed a tragedy on the subject called *Stheneboea*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 567 *sqq.* According to Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 17), Iobates refrained from slaying Bellerophon with his own hand in virtue of an old custom which forbade those who had eaten together to kill each other.

<sup>3</sup> Homer, *Il.* xvi. 328 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Hesiod, *Theog.* 319 *sq.*

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Πήγασον,<sup>1</sup> ὃν εἶχεν ἵππον ἐκ Μεδούσης πτηνὸν γεγεννημένον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἀρθεῖς εἰς ὕψος ἀπὸ τούτου κατετόξευσε τὴν Χίμαιραν. μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα τούτου ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολύμοις μαχεσθῆναι.<sup>2</sup> ὡς δὲ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τούτου, Ἀμαζόσιν ἐπέταξεν ἀγωνίσασθαι<sup>3</sup> αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς γενναιότητι<sup>4</sup> Λυκίων διαφέρειν δοκούντας ἐπιλέξας ἐπέταξεν ἀποκτεῖναι λοχήσαντας. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας, θαυμάσας τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰοβύτης τά τε γράμματα ἔδειξε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ μένειν ἤξιωσε· δοὺς δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα Φιλονόην καὶ θνήσκων τὴν βασιλείαν κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ.<sup>5</sup>

IV. Ἀκρισίῳ δὲ περὶ παίδων γενέσεως ἀρρένων χρηστηριαζομένῳ ὁ θεὸς<sup>6</sup> ἔφη γενέσθαι<sup>7</sup> παῖδα ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς, ὃς αὐτὸν ἀποκτενεῖ.<sup>8</sup> δείσας δὲ ὁ<sup>9</sup> Ἀκρισίος τούτου, ὑπὸ γῆν θάλαμον κατα-

<sup>1</sup> τὸν Πήγασον Aegius : τὰς πηγὰς A.

<sup>2</sup> μαχεσθῆναι MSS. : μαχέσασθαι Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. But for the aorist μαχεσθῆναι see Pausanias, v. 4. 9, μαχεσθῆναι ; Plutarch, *De solertia animalium*, 15, μαχεσθέντα ; and on such forms of the aorist in later Greek, see Lobeck, *Phrygichus*, pp. 731 sq. ; W. G. Rutherford, *The New Phrygichus*, pp. 191 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> ἀγωνίσασθαι R<sup>a</sup>BT, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87 : ἀγωνίζεσθαι LN, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> γενναιότητι Bekker, Hercher : τε νεότητι A : τότε νεότητι Gale, Westermann, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* τοὺς τότε ῥώμῃ νεότητος διαφέροντας).

<sup>5</sup> δοὺς δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα . . . κατέλιπεν αὐτῷ A : δοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα . . . κατέλιπεν, Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 87). <sup>6</sup> ὁ Πύθιος E.

<sup>7</sup> γενέσθαι EA, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319 : γενήσεσθαι Hercher. Perhaps we should read γενέσθαι ἄν.

<sup>8</sup> ἀποκτενεῖ E : ἀποκτείνῃ A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41.

<sup>9</sup> δὲ ὁ E, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319 : οὖν A.

his winged steed Pegasus, offspring of Medusa and Poseidon, and soaring on high shot down the Chimera from the height.<sup>1</sup> After that contest Iobates ordered him to fight the Solymi, and when he had finished that task also, he commanded him to combat the Amazons. And when he had killed them also, he picked out the reputed bravest of the Lycians and bade them lay an ambush and slay him. But when Bellerophon had killed them also to a man, Iobates, in admiration of his prowess, showed him the letter and begged him to stay with him; moreover he gave him his daughter Philonoe,<sup>2</sup> and dying bequeathed to him the kingdom.

IV. When Acrisius inquired of the oracle how he should get male children, the god said that his daughter would give birth to a son who would kill him.<sup>3</sup> Fearing that, Acrisius built a brazen chamber

<sup>1</sup> For the combat of Bellerophon with the Chimera, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 179 *sqq.*; Hesiod, *Theog.* 319 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 84 (120) *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 57.

<sup>2</sup> Anticleia, according to the Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* xiii. 59 (82); Casandra, according to the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* vi. 155.

<sup>3</sup> The following legend of Perseus (ii. 4. 1-4) seems to be based on that given by Pherecydes in his second book, which is cited as his authority by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1091, 1515, whose narrative agrees closely with that of Apollodorus. The narrative of Apollodorus is quoted, for the most part verbally, but as usual without acknowledgment, by Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41, who, however, like the Scholiast on Apollonius (*U. cc.*), passes over in silence the episode of Andromeda. Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838 (who may have followed Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 319. The story of Danae, the mother of Perseus, was the theme of plays by Sophocles and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 143 *sqq.*, 168 *sqq.*, 453 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 38 *sqq.*, 115 *sqq.*

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σκευάσας χάλκεον τὴν Δανάην ἐφρούρει. ταύτην μὲν, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἔφθειρε Προΐτος, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡ στάσις ἐκινήθη· ὡς δὲ ἔνιοί φασι, Ζεὺς μεταμορφωθείς εἰς χρυσὸν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὀροφῆς εἰς τοὺς Δανάης εἰσρυεῖς κόλπους συνῆλθεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἄκρίσιος ὕστερον ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Περσέα, μὴ πιστεύσας ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐφθάρθαι, τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς λάρνακα βαλὼν ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν. προσενεχθείσης δὲ τῆς λάρνακος Σερίφῳ Δίκτυς ἄρας  
 2 ἀνέτρεφε<sup>1</sup> τοῦτον. βασιλεύων δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Πολυδέκτης ἀδελφὸς Δίκτυος, Δανάης ἐρασθεῖς, καὶ ἠνδρωμένου Περσέως μὴ δυνάμενος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, συνεκάλει τοὺς φίλους, μεθ' ὧν καὶ Περσέα, λέγων ἔρανον συνάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἴπποδαμείας τῆς Οἰνομάου γάμους. τοῦ δὲ Περσέως εἰπόντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τῆς Γοργόνας οὐκ ἀντερεῖν,<sup>2</sup> παρὰ μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν ἤτησεν ἵππους, παρὰ δὲ τοῦ Περσέως οὐ λαβὼν τοὺς ἵππους, ἐπέταξε τῆς Γοργόνας κομίζειν τὴν κεφαλὴν. ὁ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς προκαθηγουμένων ἐπὶ τὰς Φόρκου παραγίνεται<sup>3</sup> θυγατέρας, Ἐννὼ καὶ Πεφρηδῶ<sup>4</sup> καὶ Δεινώ· ἦσαν δὲ αὐταὶ Κητοῦς τε καὶ Φόρκου, Γοργόνων ἀδελφαί, γραιῖαι ἐκ γενετῆς. ἕνα τε ὀφθαλμὸν αἱ τρεῖς καὶ ἕνα ὀδόντα εἶχον,

<sup>1</sup> ἀνέτρεφε A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: ἀνέθρεψε E, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> ἀντερεῖν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: ἀνταίρειν A, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 41 (corrected by Gaisford).

<sup>3</sup> παραγίνεται Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: γίνεται A.

<sup>4</sup> Πεφρηδῶ Heyne (compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 273): μεμφρηδῶ A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Sophocles, *Antigone*, 944 sqq. Horace represents Danae as shut up in a brazen tower (*Odes*, iii. 16. 1 sqq.),

under ground and there guarded Danae.<sup>1</sup> However, she was seduced, as some say, by Proetus, whence arose the quarrel between them;<sup>2</sup> but some say that Zeus had intercourse with her in the shape of a stream of gold which poured through the roof into Danae's lap. When Acrisius afterwards learned that she had got a child Perseus, he would not believe that she had been seduced by Zeus, and putting his daughter with the child in a chest, he cast it into the sea. The chest was washed ashore on Seriphus, and Dictys took up the boy and reared him. Polydectes, brother of Dictys, was then king of Seriphus and fell in love with Danae, but could not get access to her, because Perseus was grown to man's estate. So he called together his friends, including Perseus, under the pretext of collecting contributions towards a wedding-gift for Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus.<sup>3</sup> Now Perseus having declared that he would not stick even at the Gorgon's head, Polydectes required the others to furnish horses, and not getting horses from Perseus ordered him to bring the Gorgon's head. So under the guidance of Hermes and Athena he made his way to the daughters of Phorcus, to wit, Enyo, Pephredo, and Dino; for Phorcus had them by Ceto, and they were sisters of the Gorgons, and old women from their birth.<sup>4</sup> The three had but one eye and one

<sup>2</sup> That is, between Acrisius and Proetus. See above, ii. 2. 1.

<sup>3</sup> That is, he pretended to be a suitor for the hand of Hippodamia and to be collecting a present for her, such as suitors were wont to offer to their brides. As to Hippodamia and her suitors, see *Epitome*, ii. 4 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> As to the Phorcides, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 270 *sqq.*; Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 794 *sqq.*; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 22; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 774 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 12. Aeschylus wrote a satyric play on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 83 *sq.*



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καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ μέρος ἡμειβον ἀλλήλαις. ὦν κυριεύσας ὁ Περσεύς, ὡς ἀπήτουν, ἔφη δώσειν ἂν ὑφηγησονται τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς νύμφας φέρουσαν. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ νύμφαι πτηνὰ εἶχον πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν, ἣν φασιν εἶναι πῆραν· [Πίνδαρος δὲ καὶ Ἑσίοδος ἐν Ἀσπίδι ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως·

Πᾶν δὲ μετάφρενον εἶχε <κάρα> δεινοῖο πελώρου <Γοργούς>, ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κίβισις θέε.

εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ κεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὴν τροφήν.]<sup>1</sup> εἶχον δὲ καὶ τὴν <Ἄϊδος> κυνῆν.<sup>2</sup> ὑφηγησαμένων δὲ τῶν Φορκίδων, ἀποδοὺς τὸν τε ὀδόντα καὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν αὐταῖς, καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὰς νύμφας, καὶ τυχῶν ὦν ἐσπούδαζε, τὴν μὲν κίβισιν περιεβάλετο, τὰ δὲ πέδιλα τοῖς σφυροῖς προσήρμοσε, τὴν δὲ κυνῆν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπέθετο. ταύτην ἔχων αὐτὸς μὲν οὐς ἠθέλειν ἔβλεπεν, ὑπὸ ἄλλων δὲ οὐχ ἑώρατο. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ ἄδαμαντίνην ἄρπην, πετόμενος εἰς τὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἦκε καὶ κατέλαβε τὰς Γοργόνας κοιμωμένας. ἦσαν δὲ αὐταὶ Σθενὼ Εὐρύαλη Μέδουσα. μόνη δὲ ἦν θνητὴ Μέδουσα· διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης κεφαλὴν Περσεύς ἐπέμφθη. εἶχον δὲ αἱ Γοργόνας κεφαλὰς μὲν περισπειραμένας φολίσι δρακόντων, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους ὡς συνῶν, καὶ χεῖρας χαλκᾶς, καὶ πτέρυγας χρυσᾶς, δι' ὧν ἐπέτοντο. τοὺς δὲ ἰδόντας λίθους ἐποίουν. ἐπιστὰς

<sup>1</sup> The passage enclosed in square brackets is probably a gloss which has crept into the text.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν <Ἄϊδος> κυνῆν Wagner (comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838): τὴν κυνῆν A.

tooth, and these they passed to each other in turn. Perseus got possession of the eye and the tooth, and when they asked them back, he said he would give them up if they would show him the way to the nymphs. Now these nymphs had winged sandals and the *kibisis*, which they say was a wallet. But Pindar and Hesiod in *The Shield* say of Perseus:—<sup>1</sup>

“ But all his back had on the head of a dread monster,  
The Gorgon, and round him ran the *kibisis*.”

The *kibisis* is so called because dress and food are deposited in it.<sup>2</sup> They had also the cap of Hades. When the Phorcides had shown him the way, he gave them back the tooth and the eye, and coming to the nymphs got what he wanted. So he slung the wallet (*kibisis*) about him, fitted the sandals to his ankles, and put the cap on his head. Wearing it, he saw whom he pleased, but was not seen by others. And having received also from Hermes an adamantine sickle he flew to the ocean and caught the Gorgons asleep. They were Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa. Now Medusa alone was mortal; for that reason Perseus was sent to fetch her head. But the Gorgons had heads twined about with the scales of dragons, and great tusks like swine's, and brazen hands, and golden wings, by which they flew; and they turned to stone such as beheld them. So Perseus

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 223 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The word *κίβισις* is absurdly derived by the writer from *κείσθαι* and *ἔσθῃς*. The gloss is probably an interpolation.

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οὖν αὐταῖς ὁ Περσεὺς κοιμωμέναις, κατευθυνούσης τὴν χεῖρα Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀπεστραμμένος καὶ βλέπων εἰς ἀσπίδα χαλκῆν, δι' ἧς τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Γοργόνης ἔβλεπεν, ἐκαρτόμησεν αὐτήν. ἀποτμηθείσης δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐκ τῆς Γοργόνης ἐξέθορε Πήγασος πτηνὸς ἵππος, καὶ Χρυσάωρ ὁ Γηρυόνου  
 3 πατὴρ· τούτους δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Περσεὺς ἐνθήμενος εἰς τὴν κίβισιν τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Μεδούσης ὀπίσω πάλιν ἐχώρει, αἱ δὲ Γοργόνες ἐκ τῆς κοίτης ἀναστᾶσαι<sup>1</sup> τὸν Περσεῆα ἐδίωκον, καὶ συνιδεῖν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὴν κυνήν. ἀπεκρύπτετο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

Παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Κηφεύς, εὔρε τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα Ἀνδρομέδαν παρακειμένην βορὰν θαλασσίῳ κήτει. Κασσιέπεια γὰρ ἡ Κηφέως γυνὴ Νηρηίοισιν ἤρισε περὶ κάλλους, καὶ πασῶν εἶναι κρείστων ἠύχθησεν ὅθεν αἱ Νηρηίδες ἐμήνισαν, καὶ Ποσειδῶν αὐταῖς συνοργισθεὶς πλήμμυράν τε ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἔπεμψε καὶ κῆτος. Ἀμμωνος δὲ χρήσαντος τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἐὰν ἡ Κασσιεπείας θυγάτηρ Ἀνδρομέδα προτεθῆ τῷ κήτει βορά, τοῦτο ἀναγκασθεὶς ὁ Κηφεύς ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἔπραξε, καὶ προσέδησε τὴν θυγατέρα πέτρα. ταύτην θεασάμενος ὁ Περσεὺς καὶ ἐρασθεὶς

<sup>1</sup> ἀναστᾶσαι: A: ἀνεπτᾶσαι Wagner, comparing Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 782 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 280 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 784 sqq., vi. 119 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 151.

<sup>3</sup> For the story of Andromeda, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 836; Conon, *Narrat.* 40 (who rationalizes the

stood over them as they slept, and while Athena guided his hand and he looked with averted gaze on a brazen shield, in which he beheld the image of the Gorgon,<sup>1</sup> he beheaded her. When her head was cut off, there sprang from the Gorgon the winged horse Pegasus and Chrysaor, the father of Geryon; these she had by Poseidon.<sup>2</sup> So Perseus put the head of Medusa in the wallet (*kibisis*) and went back again; but the Gorgons started up from their slumber and pursued Perseus: but they could not see him on account of the cap, for he was hidden by it.

Being come to Ethiopia, of which Cepheus was king, he found the king's daughter Andromeda set out to be the prey of a sea monster.<sup>3</sup> For Cassiepea, the wife of Cepheus, vied with the Nereids in beauty and boasted to be better than them all; hence the Nereids were angry, and Poseidon, sharing their wrath, sent a flood and a monster to invade the land. But Ammon having predicted deliverance from the calamity if Cassiepea's daughter Andromeda were exposed as a prey to the monster, Cepheus was compelled by the Ethiopians to do it, and he bound his daughter to a rock. When Perseus beheld her, he loved her and promised Cepheus that he would

story); Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 16, 17, and 36; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 665 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 64; *id. Astronom.* ii. 11; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 24 sq. (First Vatican Mythographer, 73). According to the first two of these writers, the scene of the tale was laid at Joppa. The traces of Andromeda's fetters were still pointed out on the rocks at Joppa in the time of Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 9. 2). Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject, of which some fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 157 sqq., 392 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 78 sqq.

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ἀναιρήσειν ὑπέσχετο Κηφεί τὸ κῆτος, εἰ μέλλει σωθεῖσάν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ δώσειν γυναῖκα. ἐπὶ τούτοις γενομένων ὄρκων, ὑποστὰς τὸ κῆτος ἔκτεινε καὶ τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν ἔλυσεν. ἐπιβουλευόντος δὲ αὐτῷ Φινέως, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κηφέως ἐγγεγυημένος<sup>1</sup> πρῶτος τὴν Ἀνδρομέδαν, μαθὼν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, τὴν Γοργόνα δείξας μετὰ τῶν συνεπιβουλευόντων αὐτὸν ἐλίθωσε παραχρῆμα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Σέριφον, καὶ καταλαβὼν προσπεφευγίαν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς βωμοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Δίκτυος τὴν μητέρα διὰ τὴν Πολυδέκτου βίαν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια,<sup>3</sup> συγκαλέσαντος τοῦ Πολυδέκτου τοὺς φίλους ἀπεστραμμένος τὴν κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνας ἔδειξε· τῶν δὲ ἰδόντων, ὁποῖον ἕκαστος ἔτυχε σχῆμα ἔχων, ἀπελιθώθη. καταστήσας δὲ τῆς Σερίφου Δίκτυν βασιλέα, ἀπέδωκε τὰ μὲν πέδιλα καὶ τὴν κίβισιν καὶ τὴν κυνὴν Ἑρμῇ, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τῆς Γοργόνας Ἀθηνᾷ. Ἑρμῆς μὲν οὖν τὰ προειρημένα πάλιν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς νύμφαις, Ἀθηνᾷ δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς Γοργόνας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐνέθηκε.<sup>4</sup> λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων ὅτι δι' Ἀθηνᾶν ἢ Μέδουσα ἐκατατομήθη· φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ περὶ κάλλους ἠθέλησεν ἢ Γοργῶ αὐτῇ συγκριθῆναι.

- 4 Περσεὺς δὲ μετὰ Δανάης καὶ Ἀνδρομέδας ἔσπευδεν εἰς Ἄργος, ἵνα Ἀκρίσιον θεάσῃται. ὁ δὲ <τοῦτο μαθὼν καὶ><sup>5</sup> δεδοικῶς τὸν χρησμόν,

<sup>1</sup> ἐγγεγυημένος R: ἐγγεγόμενος A: ἐγγυόμενος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> προσπεφευγίαν Tzetzes, Schol. on Lycophron, 838: προπεφευγίαν A. <sup>3</sup> τὰ βασίλεια R: τὸν βασιλέα A.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνέθηκε Heyne: ἀνέθηκε A.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦτο μαθὼν καὶ. These words, absent in the MSS., are restored by Wagner from Zenobius, Cent. i. 41.

kill the monster, if he would give him the rescued damsel to wife. These terms having been sworn to, Perseus withstood and slew the monster and released Andromeda. However, Phineus, who was a brother of Cepheus, and to whom Andromeda had been first betrothed, plotted against him; but Perseus discovered the plot, and by showing the Gorgon turned him and his fellow conspirators at once into stone. And having come to Seriphus he found that his mother and Dictys had taken refuge at the altars on account of the violence of Polydectes; so he entered the palace, where Polydectes had gathered his friends, and with averted face he showed the Gorgon's head; and all who beheld it were turned to stone, each in the attitude which he happened to have struck. Having appointed Dictys king of Seriphus, he gave back the sandals and the wallet (*kibisis*) and the cap to Hermes, but the Gorgon's head he gave to Athena. Hermes restored the aforesaid things to the nymphs and Athena inserted the Gorgon's head in the middle of her shield. But it is alleged by some that Medusa was beheaded for Athena's sake; and they say that the Gorgon was fain to match herself with the goddess even in beauty.

Perseus hastened with Danae and Andromeda to Argos in order that he might behold Acrisius. But he, learning of this and dreading the oracle,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That is, the oracle which declared that he would be killed by the son of Danae. See above, ii. 4. 1.

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ἀπολιπὼν Ἄργος εἰς τὴν Πελασγιῶτιν ἐχώρησε γῆν. Τευταμίδου<sup>1</sup> δὲ τοῦ Λαρισσαίων<sup>2</sup> βασιλέως ἐπὶ κατοικομένῳ τῷ πατρὶ διατιθέντος<sup>3</sup> γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα, παρεγένετο καὶ ὁ Περσεὺς ἀγωνίσασθαι θέλων, ἀγωνιζόμενος δὲ πένταθλον, τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀκρισίου πόδα βαλὼν παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὸν χρησμὸν τετελειωμένον<sup>4</sup> τὸν μὲν Ἀκρίσιον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἔθαψεν, αἰσχυνόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἄργος ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκότος, παραγενόμενος εἰς Τίρυνθα<sup>5</sup> πρὸς τὸν Προίτου παῖδα Μεγαπένθην ἠλλάξατο, τούτῳ τε τὸ Ἄργος ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ Μεγαπένθης μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀργείων, Περσεὺς δὲ Τίρυνθος, προστειχίσας 5 Μίδειαν<sup>6</sup> καὶ Μυκῆνας. ἐγένοντο δὲ ἔξ Ἄνδρομέδας παῖδες αὐτῷ, πρὶν μὲν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Πέρσης, ὃν παρὰ Κηφεῖ κατέλιπεν (ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ τοὺς Περσῶν βασιλεῆς λέγεται γενέσθαι), ἐν Μυκῆναις δὲ Ἀλκαῖος καὶ Σθένελος καὶ Ἐλειος<sup>7</sup> Μῆστωρ τε καὶ Ἡλεκτρύων, καὶ θυγάτηρ Γοργοφόνη, ἣν Περιήρης ἔγημεν.

<sup>1</sup> Τευταμίδου E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838 (compare Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiquit. Rom.* i. 28. 3), Hercher, Wagner: τευταμία A, Westermann: Τευταμίου, Heyne, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> Λαρισσαίων EA, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: Λαρισαίων R<sup>a</sup>, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> διατιθέντος E, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 41: διατεθέντος A.

<sup>4</sup> τετελειωμένον R: τετελεσμένον A.

<sup>5</sup> τίρυνθα R: τίρυνθον A.

<sup>6</sup> Μίδειαν Aegius: μῆδειαν A: Μίδειαν Heyne. See below, ii. 4. 6, p. 170, note.

<sup>7</sup> Ἐλειος Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 838: ἔλης R: ἔλας R<sup>a</sup>C: ἔλλας B.

forsook Argos and departed to the Pelasgian land. Now Teutamides, king of Larissa, was holding athletic games in honour of his dead father, and Perseus came to compete. He engaged in the pentathlon, but in throwing the quoit he struck Acrisius on the foot and killed him instantly.<sup>1</sup> Perceiving that the oracle was fulfilled, he buried Acrisius outside the city,<sup>2</sup> and being ashamed to return to Argos to claim the inheritance of him who had died by his hand, he went to Megapenthes, son of Proetus, at Tiryns and effected an exchange with him, surrendering Argos into his hands.<sup>3</sup> So Megapenthes reigned over the Argives, and Perseus reigned over Tiryns, after fortifying also Midea and Mycenae.<sup>4</sup> And he had sons by Andromeda: before he came to Greece he had Perses, whom he left behind with Cepheus (and from him it is said that the kings of Persia are descended); and in Mycenae he had Alcaeus and Sthenelus and Heleus and Mestor and Electryon,<sup>5</sup> and a daughter Gorgophone, whom Perieres married.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 2.

<sup>2</sup> According to another account, the grave of Acrisius was in the temple of Athena on the acropolis of Larissa. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* iii. 45, p. 39, ed. Potter.

<sup>3</sup> As to this exchange of kingdoms, compare Pausanias, ii. 16. 3.

<sup>4</sup> As to the fortification or foundation of Mycenae by Perseus, see Pausanias, ii. 15. 4, ii. 16. 3.

<sup>5</sup> As to the sons of Perseus and Andromeda, compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 116; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 747. The former agrees with Apollodorus as to the five sons born to Perseus in Mycenae, except that he calls one of them Aelius instead of Heleus; the latter mentions only four sons, Alcaeus, Sthenelus, Mestor, and Electryon.

<sup>6</sup> See below, iii. 10. 3.



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Ἐκ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκαίου καὶ Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Πέλοπος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι λέγουσι Λαονόμης τῆς Γουνέως, ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι πάλιν Ἴππονόμης τῆς Μενοικέως, Ἀμφιτρύων ἐγένετο καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀναξώ, ἐκ δὲ Μήστορος καὶ Λυσιδίκης τῆς Πέλοπος Ἴπποθόη. ταύτην ἀρπάσας Ποσειδῶν καὶ κομίσας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἐχινάδας νήσους μίγνυται, καὶ γεννᾷ Τάφιον, ὃς ὤκισε Τάφον καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς Τηλεβόας ἐκάλεσεν, ὅτι τηλοῦ τῆς πατρίδος ἔβη. ἐκ Ταφίου δὲ παῖς Πτερέλαος ἐγένετο· τοῦτον ἀθάνατον ἐποίησε Ποσειδῶν, ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ χρυσὴν ἐνθεῖς τρίχα. Πτερελάῳ δὲ ἐγένοντο παῖδες Χρομῖος Τύρανος Ἀντίοχος Χερσιδάμας Μήστρω Εὐήρης.

Ἡλεκτρύων δὲ γήμας τὴν Ἀλκαίου θυγατέρα Ἀναξώ, ἐγέννησε θυγατέρα μὲν Ἀλκμήνην, παῖδας δὲ <Στρατοβάτην><sup>1</sup> Γοργοφόνον Φυλόνομον<sup>2</sup> Κελαινεά Ἀμφίμαχον Λυσίνομον Χειρίμαχον Ἀνάκτορα Ἀρχέλαον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ νόθον ἐκ Φρυγίας γυναικὸς Μιδέας<sup>3</sup> Λικύμνιον.

<sup>1</sup> Στρατοβάτην added by Aegius from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932; compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 28 (49).

<sup>2</sup> Φυλόνομον RR<sup>A</sup>B, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932: φιλονόμον C.

<sup>3</sup> Μιδέας Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 29 (53), Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Μηδείας A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, where Müller, the editor, reads Μιδέας in the text "auctoritate Apollodori," but adds that "Nostris Codd. consentiunt in μηδείας."

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<sup>1</sup> The name Teleboans is derived by the writer from *telou* *cbē* (τηλοῦ ἔβη), "he went far." The same false etymology ted by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 932). Strabo

Alcaeus had a son Amphitryon and a daughter Anaxo by Astydamia, daughter of Pelops; but some say he had them by Laonome, daughter of Guneus, others that he had them by Hipponome, daughter of Menoeceus; and Mestor had Hippothoe by Lysidice, daughter of Pelops. This Hippothoe was carried off by Poseidon, who brought her to the Echinadian Islands, and there had intercourse with her, and begat Taphius, who colonized Taphos and called the people Teleboans, because he had gone far<sup>1</sup> from his native land. And Taphius had a son Pterelaus, whom Poseidon made immortal by implanting a golden hair in his head.<sup>2</sup> And to Pterelaus were born sons, to wit, Chromius, Tyrannus, Antiochus, Chersidamas, Mestor, and Eueres.

Electryon married Anaxo, daughter of Alcaeus,<sup>3</sup> and begat a daughter Alcmena,<sup>4</sup> and sons, to wit, Stratobates, Gorgophonus, Phylonomus, Celaeneus, Amphimachus, Lysinomus, Chirimachus, Anactor, and Archelaus; and after these he had also a bastard son, Licymnius, by a Phrygian woman Midea.<sup>5</sup>

says (x. 2. 20, p. 459) that the Taphians were formerly called Teleboans. <sup>2</sup> See below, ii. 4. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Electryon married his niece, the daughter of his brother Alcaeus (see above, ii. 4. 5). Similarly Butes is said to have married the daughter of his brother Erechtheus (iii. 15. 1), and Phineus is reported to have been betrothed to the daughter of his brother Cepheus (ii. 4. 3). Taken together, these traditions perhaps point to a custom of marriage with a niece, the daughter of a brother.

<sup>4</sup> According to another account, the mother of Alcmena was a daughter of Pelops (Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 210 sq.), her name being variously given as Lysidice (Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (49); Plutarch, *Theseus*, 6) and Eurydice (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 9. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Compare Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (49).

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Σθενέλου δὲ καὶ Νικίππης τῆς Πέλοπος Ἄλκυνῆ<sup>1</sup> καὶ Μέδουσα, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθεὺς ἐγένετο, ὃς καὶ Μυκηνῶν ἐβασίλευσεν. ὅτε γὰρ Ἑρακλῆς ἔμελλε γεννᾶσθαι, Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖς ἔφη τὸν ἀπὸ Περσέως γεννηθησόμενον τότε βασιλεύσειν Μυκηνῶν, "Ἡρα δὲ διὰ<sup>2</sup> ζῆλον Εἰλειθυίας<sup>3</sup> ἔπεισε τὸν μὲν Ἀλκμήνης τόκον ἐπισχεῖν, Εὐρυσθέα δὲ τὸν Σθενέλου παρεσκεύασε γεννηθῆναι ἐπταμηνιαῖον ὄντα.

6 Ἡλεκτρύονος δὲ βασιλεύοντος Μυκηνῶν, μετὰ Ταφίων<sup>4</sup> οἱ Πτερελάου παῖδες ἐλθόντες τὴν Μήστορος ἀρχὴν [τοῦ μητροπάτορος]<sup>5</sup> ἀπήτουν, καὶ μὴ προσέχοντος<sup>6</sup> Ἡλεκτρύονος ἀπήλαυνον τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Ἄλκυνῆ Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 7): ἀλκυνή R: ἀλκινθή A. <sup>2</sup> διὰ E: διὰ τὸν A.

<sup>3</sup> Εἰλειθυίας EA, Wagner: Εἰλειθυιαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> Ταφίων Heyne: Ταφίου MSS., Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>5</sup> τοῦ μητροπάτορος (compend.) R: τῷ μητροπάτορος R<sup>a</sup>: τῷ μητροπάτορι A. As Heyne saw, the words are probably a gloss which has crept into the text. Wagner does not bracket them.

<sup>6</sup> προσέχοντος Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932: προσέχοντες A.

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<sup>1</sup> According to other accounts, her name was Antibia (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 119) or Archippe (J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 172, 192).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Homer, *Il.* xix. 95-133, where (v. 119) the Ilithyias, the goddesses of childbirth, are also spoken of in the plural. According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* ix. 292 sqq.), the goddess of childbirth (Lucina, the Roman equivalent of Ilithyia) delayed the birth of Hercules by sitting at the door of the room with crossed legs and clasped hands until, deceived by a false report that Alcmena had been delivered, she relaxed her posture and so allowed the birth to take place. Compare Pausanias, ix. 11. 3 Antoninus

Sthenelus had daughters, Alcyone and Medusa, by Nicippe,<sup>1</sup> daughter of Pelops; and he had afterwards a son Eurystheus, who reigned also over Mycenae. For when Hercules was about to be born, Zeus declared among the gods that the descendant of Perseus then about to be born would reign over Mycenae, and Hera out of jealousy persuaded the Ilithyias to retard Alcmena's delivery,<sup>2</sup> and contrived that Eurystheus, son of Sthenelus, should be born a seven-month child.<sup>3</sup>

When Electryon reigned over Mycenae, the sons of Pterelaus came with some Taphians and claimed the kingdom of Mestor, their maternal grandfather,<sup>4</sup> and as Electryon paid no heed to the claim,

*Liberalis, Transform. 29*, according to whom it was the Fates and Ilithyia who thus retarded the birth of Hercules. Among the Efiks and Ibibios, of Southern Nigeria, "the ancient custom still obtains that locks should be undone and knots untied in the house of a woman who is about to bear a babe, since all such are thought, by sympathetic magic, to retard delivery. A case was related of a jealous wife, who, on the advice of a witch doctor versed in the mysteries of her sex, hid a selection of padlocks beneath her garments, then went and sat down near the sick woman's door and surreptitiously turned the key in each. She had previously stolen an old waist-cloth from her rival, which she knotted so tightly over and over that it formed a ball, and, as an added precaution, she locked her fingers closely together and sat with crossed legs, exactly as did Juno Lucina of old when determined to prevent the birth of the infant Hercules" (D. Amaury Talbot, *Woman's Mysteries of a Primitive People, the Ibibios of Southern Nigeria* (London, etc. 1915), p. 22). See further *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 294 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xix. 119; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 172 *sqq.*, 192 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> Taphius, the father of Pterelaus, was a son of Hippothoe, who was a daughter of Mestor. See above, ii. 4. 5. Thus Mestor was not the maternal grandfather, but the great-great-grandfather of the sons of Pterelaus. Who the maternal

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βόας ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Ἡλεκτρύονος παίδων, ἐκ προκλήσεως<sup>1</sup> ἀλλήλους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐσώθη δὲ τῶν Ἡλεκτρύονος παίδων Λικύμνιος ἔτι νέος ὑπάρχων, τῶν δὲ Πτερελάου Εὐήρης, ὃς καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐφύλασσε. τῶν δὲ Ταφίων οἱ διαφυγόντες ἀπέπλευσαν τὰς ἐλαθείσας βόας ἐλόντες, καὶ παρέθεντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἠλείων Πολυξένῳ· Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ παρὰ Πολυξένου λυτρωσάμενος αὐτὰς ἤγαγεν εἰς Μυκήνας.<sup>2</sup> ὁ δὲ Ἡλεκτρύων τὸν τῶν παίδων θάνατον βουλόμενος ἐδικῆσαι, παραδοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀμφιτρώωνι καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀλκμήνην, ἐξορκίσας ἵνα μέχρι τῆς ἐπανόδου παρθένον αὐτὴν φυλάξῃ, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας διενεοῖτο. ἀπολαμβάνοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰς βόας, μιᾶς ἐκθορούσης Ἀμφιτρώων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀφήκεν ὃ μετὰ χεῖρας εἶχε ῥόπαλον, τὸ δὲ ἀποκρουσθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων εἰς τὴν Ἡλεκτρύονος κεφαλὴν ἐλθὼν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ὅθεν λαβὼν ταύτην τὴν πρόφασιν Σθένελος παντὸς Ἄργους

<sup>1</sup> προκλήσεως Gale: προβλήσεως A.

<sup>2</sup> Μυκήνας Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932: Μυκῆνην RR<sup>a</sup>B.

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grandfather of the sons of Pterelaus was we do not know, since the name of their mother is not recorded. The words "their maternal grandfather" are probably a gloss which has crept into the text. See the Critical Note. Apart from the difficulty created by these words, it is hard to suppose that Electryon was still reigning over Mycenae at the time of this expedition of the sons of Pterelaus, since, being a son of Perseus, he was a brother of their great-great-grandfather Mestor.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 747-751, with the Scholiast on v. 747; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, whose account seems based on that of Apollodorus.

they drove away his kine; and when the sons of Electryon stood on their defence, they challenged and slew each other.<sup>1</sup> But of the sons of Electryon there survived Licymnius, who was still young; and of the sons of Pterelaus there survived Everes, who guarded the ships. Those of the Taphians who escaped sailed away, taking with them the cattle they had lifted, and entrusted them to Polyxenus, king of the Eleans; but Amphitryon ransomed them from Polyxenus and brought them to Mycenae. Wishing to avenge his sons' death, Electryon purposed to make war on the Teleboans, but first he committed the kingdom to Amphitryon along with his daughter Alcmena, binding him by oath to keep her a virgin until his return.<sup>2</sup> However, as he was receiving the cows back, one of them charged, and Amphitryon threw at her the club which he had in his hands. But the club rebounded from the cow's horns and striking Electryon's head killed him.<sup>3</sup> Hence Sthenelus laid hold of this pretext to banish Amphitryon from

<sup>2</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 14 *sqq.*, where it is said that Amphitryon might not go in to his wife Alcmena until he had avenged the death of her brothers, the sons of Electryon, who had been slain in the fight with the Taphians. The tradition points to a custom which enjoined an avenger of blood to observe strict chastity until he had taken the life of his enemy.

<sup>3</sup> A similar account of the death of Electryon is given by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932, who seems to follow Apollodorus. According to this version of the legend, the slaying of Electryon by Amphitryon was purely accidental. But according to Hesiod (*Shield of Hercules*, 11 *sq.*, 79 *sqq.*) the two men quarrelled over the cattle, and Amphitryon killed Electryon in hot blood. Compare the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323.

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ἐξέβαλεν Ἀμφιτρώνα, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Μυκη-  
νῶν καὶ τῆς Τίρυνθος αὐτὸς κατέσχε· τὴν δὲ  
Μίδειαν,<sup>1</sup> μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς Πέλοπος παῖδας  
Ἀτρεά καὶ Θυέστην, παρέθετο τούτοις.

Ἀμφιτρώων δὲ σὺν Ἀλκμήνῃ καὶ Λικυμνίῳ  
παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ Θήβας ὑπὸ Κρέοντος ἠγγίσθη,  
καὶ δίδωσι τὴν ἀδελφὴν Περιμήδην Λικυμνίῳ.  
λεγούσης δὲ Ἀλκμήνης γαμηθήσεσθαι αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> τῶν  
ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς ἐκδικήσαντι τὸν θάνατον, ὑποσχό-  
μενος ἐπὶ Τηλεβόας στρατεύει Ἀμφιτρώων, καὶ  
παρακάλει συλλαβέσθαι Κρέοντα. ὁ δὲ ἔφη  
στρατεύσειν, εἰάν πρότερον ἐκείνος τὴν Καδμείαν<sup>3</sup>  
τῆς ἀλώπεκος ἀπαλλάξῃ· ἔφθειρε γὰρ τὴν<sup>4</sup> Καδ-  
μείαν ἀλώπηξ θηρίου. ὑποστάντος δὲ ὄμως  
εἰμαρμένον ἦν αὐτὴν μηδέ τινα καταλαβεῖν.  
7 ἄδικουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας, ἕνα τῶν ἀστῶν παῖδα  
οἱ Θηβαῖοι κατὰ μῆνα προετίθεσαν αὐτῇ, πολλοὺς  
ἀρπαξούσῃ,<sup>5</sup> τοῦτ' εἰ μὴ γένοιτο. ἀπαλλαγείς

<sup>1</sup> Μίδειαν Bekker, Hercher: Μίδεαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: μήδειαν A. Both forms, Μίδεια and Μίδεια, are recognized by Strabo (viii. 6. 11, p. 373) and Stephanus Byzantius (s. v. Μίδεια), but Strabo preferred the form Μίδεια for the city in Argolis, and the form Μίδεια for the similarly named city in Boeotia. In the manuscripts of Pausanias the name is reported to occur in the forms Μιδεῖα, Μιδέα, Μήδεια, Μηδεῖα, and Μηδέα, of which the forms Μιδεῖα, Μήδεια, and Μηδεῖα appear to be the best attested. See Pausanias, ii. 16. 2, ii. 25. 9, vi. 20. 7, viii. 27. 1, with the critical commentaries of Schubart and Walz, of Hitzig and Blümner. The editors of Pausanias do not consistently adopt any one of these forms. For example, the latest editor (F. Spiro) adopts the form Μιδεῖα in one passage (ii. 16. 2), Μήδεια in a second (ii. 25. 9), Μιδέα in a third (vi. 20. 7), and Μίδεια in a fourth (viii. 27. 1).

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ Wagner, following Eberhard and comparing Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323; Hesiod, *Shield of Her-*

the whole of Argos, while he himself seized the throne of Mycenae and Tiryns; and he entrusted Midea to Atreus and Thyestes, the sons of Pelops, whom he had sent for.

Amphitryon went with Alcmena and Licymnius to Thebes and was purified by Creon<sup>1</sup> and gave his sister Perimede to Licymnius. And as Alcmena said she would marry him when he had avenged her brothers' death, Amphitryon engaged to do so, and undertook an expedition against the Teleboans, and invited Creon to assist him. Creon said he would join in the expedition if Amphitryon would first rid the Cadmea of the vixen; for a brute of a vixen was ravaging the Cadmea.<sup>2</sup> But though Amphitryon undertook the task, it was fated that nobody should catch her. As the country suffered thereby, the Thebans every month exposed a son of one of the citizens to the brute, which would have carried off many if that were not done. So Amphitryon

<sup>1</sup> That is, for the killing of Electryon. Compare Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 79 sqq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 16 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The animal had its lair at Teumessus, and hence was known as the Teumessian fox. See Pausanias, ix. 19. 1; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; Apostolius, *Cent.* xvi. 42; Suidas, s.v. *Τευμησία*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 553 sqq. (who refers to Apollodorus as his authority); Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 762 sqq. By an easy application of the rationalistic instrument, which cuts so many mythological knots, the late Greek writer Palaephatus (*De Incredib.* 8) converted the ferocious animal into a gentleman (καλὸς κἀγαθός) named Fox, of a truculent disposition and predatory habits, who proved a thorn in the flesh to the Thebans, until Cephalus rid them of the nuisance by knocking him on the head.

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*cules*, 14 sqq.: τῶ A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. <sup>3</sup> τὴν Καδμείαν A: τοὺς Καδμείους Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν A: γῆν Hercher. <sup>5</sup> ἀρπαξούση Palmer: ἀρπαξούση A.



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οὖν Ἀμφιτρύων εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸς Κέφαλον τὸν  
 Διονέως, συνέπειθεν ἐπὶ μέρει τῶν ἀπὸ Τηλε-  
 βοῶν λαφύρων ἄγειν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τὸν κύνα ὃν  
 Πρόκρις ἤγαγεν ἐκ Κρήτης παρὰ Μίνωος λαβου-  
 σα· ἦν δὲ καὶ τούτῳ πεπρωμένον πᾶν, ὃ τι ἂν  
 διώκη, λαμβάνειν. διωκομένης οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ κυνὸς  
 τῆς ἀλώπεκος, Ζεὺς ἀμφοτέρους λίθους ἐποίησεν.  
 Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ ἔχων ἐκ μὲν Θορικοῦ τῆς Ἀττικῆς  
 Κέφαλον συμμαχοῦντα, ἐκ δὲ Φωκέων Πανοπέα,  
 ἐκ δὲ Ἐλους<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἀργείας Ἐλειον τὸν Περσέως,  
 ἐκ δὲ Θηβῶν Κρέοντα, τὰς τῶν Ταφίων νήσους  
 ἐπόρθει. ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἔζη Πτερέλαος, οὐκ ἐδύ-  
 νατο τὴν Τάφον ελεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἡ Πτερελάου θυγάτηρ  
 Κομαιθὼ ἐρασθεῖσα Ἀμφιτρύωνος τὴν χρυσοῦν  
 τρίχα τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξείλετο,  
 Πτερελάου τελευτήσαντος ἐχειρώσατο τὰς νήσους  
 ὑπάσας. τὴν μὲν οὖν Κομαιθὼ κτείνει<sup>2</sup> Ἀμφι-  
 τρύων καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχων εἰς Θήβας ἔπλει, καὶ  
 τὰς νήσους Ἐλείῳ καὶ Κεφάλῳ δίδωσι. κἀκεῖνοι  
 πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπωνύμους κτίσαντες κατώκησαν.

- 8 Πρὸ τοῦ δὲ Ἀμφιτρώνα παραγενέσθαι εἰς  
 Θήβας Ζεὺς, διὰ νυκτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν μίαν  
 τριπλασιάσας νύκτα,<sup>3</sup> ὅμοιος Ἀμφιτρώνι γενό-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλους Aegius: ἐλούσης A.    <sup>2</sup> κτείνει RR<sup>a</sup>: κτείνας A.

<sup>3</sup> τὴν μίαν τριπλασιάσας νύκτα MSS. and editions. The Vatican Epitome (E) reads as follows: τὴν μίαν νύκτα πενταπλασιάσας ἢ κατὰ τινὰς τριπλασιάσας, οἳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τριέσπερον ἀξιούσι λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα: "having multiplied the single night fivefold or threefold, according to some, who on that account claim for Hercules the title of Triesperus (He of the Three Evenings)." The title of Triesperus is similarly explained by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 33. The multiplication of the night fivefold appears to be mentioned by no other ancient writer. Compare R. Wagner, *Epitoma Vaticana*, p. 98.

betook him to Cephalus, son of Deioneus, at Athens, and persuaded him, in return for a share of the Teleboan spoils, to bring to the chase the dog which Procris had brought from Crete as a gift from Minos<sup>1</sup>; for that dog was destined to catch whatever it pursued. So then, when the vixen was chased by the dog, Zeus turned both of them into stone. Supported by his allies, to wit, Cephalus from Thoricus in Attica, Panopeus from Phocis, Heleus, son of Perseus, from Helos in Argolis, and Creon from Thebes, Amphitryon ravaged the islands of the Taphians. Now, so long as Pterelaus lived, he could not take Taphos; but when Comaetho, daughter of Pterelaus, falling in love with Amphitryon, pulled out the golden hair from her father's head, Pterelaus died,<sup>2</sup> and Amphitryon subjugated all the islands. He slew Comaetho, and sailed with the booty to Thebes,<sup>3</sup> and gave the islands to Heleus and Cephalus; and they founded cities named after themselves and dwelt in them.

But before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus came by night and prolonging the one night threefold he assumed the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded

<sup>1</sup> As to Procris, see below, iii. 15. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 932. For the similar story of Nisus and his daughter Megara, see below, iii. 15. 8.

<sup>3</sup> In the sanctuary of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, the historian Herodotus saw a tripod bearing an inscription in "Cadmean letters," which set forth that the vessel had been dedicated by Amphitryon from the spoils of the Teleboans. See Herodotus, v. 59. Among the booty was a famous goblet which Poseidon had given to his son Teleboes, and which Teleboes had given to Pterelaus. See Athenaeus, xi. 99, p. 498 c; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 256 sq. For the expedition of Amphitryon against the Teleboans or Taphians, see also Strabo, x. 2. 20; Pausanias, i. 37. 6; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 183-256.

μενος Ἀλκμήνῃ συνευνάσθη καὶ τὰ γενόμενα περὶ<sup>1</sup> Τηλεβοῶν διηγήσατο. Ἀμφιτρύων δὲ παραγενόμενος, ὡς οὐχ ἑώρα φιλοφρονουμένην πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναῖκα, ἐπυνθάνετο τὴν αἰτίαν· εἰπούσης δὲ ὅτι τῇ προτέρα νυκτὶ παραγενόμενος αὐτῇ συγκεκοίμηται, μανθάνει παρὰ Τειρεσίου τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Διὸς συνουσίαν. Ἀλκμήνῃ δὲ δύο ἐγέννησε παῖδας, Διὶ μὲν Ἑρακλέα, μᾶ νυκτὶ πρεσβύτερον, Ἀμφιτρύωνι δὲ Ἴφικλέα. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ὄντος ὀκταμηνιαίου δύο δράκοντας ὑπερμεγέθεισ' Ἑρα ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν ἔπεμψε, διαφθαρῆναι τὸ βρέφος θέλουσα. ἐπιβοωμένης δὲ Ἀλκμήνης Ἀμφιτρύωνα, Ἑρακλῆς διαναστὰς ἄγχων ἑκατέραις ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοὺς διέφθειρε. Φέρεκύδης δὲ φησιν Ἀμφιτρύωνα, βουλόμενον μαθεῖν ὀπότερος ἦν τῶν παίδων ἐκείνου, τοὺς δράκοντας εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἴφικλέους φυγόντος τοῦ δὲ Ἑρακλέους ὑποστάντος μαθεῖν ὡς Ἴφικλῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγέννηται.

9 Ἐδιδάχθη δὲ<sup>2</sup> Ἑρακλῆς ἀρματηλατεῖν μὲν ὑπὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος, παλαίειν δὲ ὑπὸ Αὐτολύκου, τοξεύειν δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρύτου, ὀπλομαχεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> περὶ (compend.) E, Bekker, Hercher : παρὰ A.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ R : μὲν A.

<sup>1</sup> For the deception of Alcmena by Zeus and the birth of Hercules and Iphicles, see Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 27-56; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 9; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 323, and *Od.* xi. 266; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 33; Hyginus, *Fab.* 29. The story was the subject of plays by Sophocles and Euripides which have perished (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 156, 386 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 76 sqq.); and it is the theme of a well-known comedy of Plautus, the *Amphitryo*, which is extant. In that play (Prologue, 112 sqq.),

with Alcmena<sup>1</sup> and related what had happened concerning the Teleboans. But when Amphitryon arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, he inquired the cause; and when she told him that he had come the night before and slept with her, he learned from Tiresias how Zeus had enjoyed her. And Alcmena bore two sons, to wit, Hercules, whom she had by Zeus and who was the elder by one night, and Iphicles, whom she had by Amphitryon. When the child was eight months old, Hera desired the destruction of the babe and sent two huge serpents to the bed. Alcmena called Amphitryon to her help, but Hercules arose and killed the serpents by strangling them with both his hands.<sup>2</sup> However, Pherecydes says that it was Amphitryon who put the serpents in the bed, because he would know which of the two children was his, and that when Iphicles fled, and Hercules stood his ground, he knew that Iphicles was begotten of his body.

Hercules was taught to drive a chariot by Amphitryon, to wrestle by Autolycus, to shoot with the bow by Eurytus, to fence by Castor, and to play the

Plautus mentions the lengthening of the night in which Jupiter (Zeus) begat Hercules. The Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xiv. 323) says that Zeus persuaded the Sun not to rise for three days; and the threefold night is mentioned also by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 9. 2). The whole story was told by Pherecydes, as we learn from the Scholiasts on Homer (*Il.* xiv. 323; *Od.* xi. 266); and it is likely that Apollodorus here follows him, for he refers to Pherecydes a few lines below.

<sup>2</sup> As to the infant Hercules and the serpents, compare Pindar, *Nem.* i. 33 (50) *sqq.*; Theocritus, xxiv.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 1; Pausanias, i. 24. 2; Plautus, *Amphitryo*, 1123 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 288 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to Theocritus (xxiv. 1), Hercules was ten months old when he strangled the serpents.

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Κάστωρος, καθαρωδεῖν δὲ ὑπὸ Λίνου. οὗτος δὲ ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ὀρφέως· ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Θήβας καὶ Θηβαῖος γενόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τῇ κιθάρα πληγεὶς ἀπέθανεν· ἐπιπλήξαντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀργισθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε. δίκην δὲ ἐπαγόντων τινῶν αὐτῷ φόνου, παρανέγνω νόμον Ῥαδαμάνθυος λέγοντος, ὃς ἂν ἀμύνηται τὸν χειρῶν ἀδίκων κατάρξαντα,<sup>1</sup> ἀθῶον εἶναι, καὶ οὕτως ἀπελύθη.<sup>2</sup> δείσας δὲ Ἀμφιτρώων μὴ πάλιν τι ποιήσῃ τοιοῦτον, ἔπεμψεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ βουφόρβια. κἀκεῖ τρεφόμενος μεγέθει τε καὶ ῥώμῃ πάντων διήνεγκεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ θεωρηθεὶς φανερός<sup>3</sup> ὅτι Διὸς παῖς ἦν· τετραπηχυαῖον μὲν γὰρ εἶχε τὸ σῶμα, πυρὸς δ' ἐξ ὀμμάτων ἔλαμπεν αἰγλήν. οὐκ ἦστόχει δὲ οὔτε τοξεύων οὔτε ἀκοντίζων.

Ἐν δὲ τοῖς βουκολίοις ὑπάρχων ὀκτωκαιδεκαέτης τὸν Κιθαιρώνειον ἀνεῖλε λέοντα. οὗτος γὰρ ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρώνος τὰς Ἀμφι-  
 10 τρώωνος ἔφθειρε βόας καὶ τὰς Θεσπίου.<sup>4</sup> βασι-

<sup>1</sup> κατάρξαντα E: ἔρξαντα A.    <sup>2</sup> ἀπελύθη ERR<sup>a</sup>: ἀπελάθη R.

<sup>3</sup> φανερός R: φανερώς E: φοβερός A.

<sup>4</sup> Θεσπίου Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Θεστίου EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller. This king's name is variously reported by the ancients in the forms Θεσπίος and Θεστίος. In favour of the form Θεσπίος, see below, ii. 7. 6; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29. 2. In favour of the form Θεστίος, see below, ii. 4. 12, ii. 7. 8 (where Θεστίου occurs in the MSS.); Pausanias, iii. 19. 5, ix. 27. 6. When we consider the variation of the MSS. on this point, the extreme slightness of the difference (a single stroke of the pen) between the two forms, and the appropriateness of the form Θεσπίος for the name of a king of Thespieae, we may surmise that the true form is Θεσπίος, and that it should everywhere replace Θεστίος in our editions of Greek authors. There is at all events no doubt that Diodorus Siculus read the name in this form, for he speaks of Θεσπίος as βασιλεύων τῆς ὀμωνύμου χώρας.

lyre by Linus.<sup>1</sup> This Linus was a brother of Orpheus; he came to Thebes and became a Theban, but was killed by Hercules with a blow of the lyre; for being struck by him, Hercules flew into a rage and slew him.<sup>2</sup> When he was tried for murder, Hercules quoted a law of Rhadamanthys, who laid it down that whoever defends himself against a wrongful aggressor shall go free, and so he was acquitted. But fearing he might do the like again, Amphitryon sent him to the cattle farm; and there he was nurtured and outdid all in stature and strength. Even by the look of him it was plain that he was a son of Zeus; for his body measured four cubits,<sup>3</sup> and he flashed a gleam of fire from his eyes; and he did not miss, neither with the bow nor with the javelin.

While he was with the herds and had reached his eighteenth year he slew the lion of Cithaeron, for that animal, sallying from Cithaeron, harried the kine of Amphitryon and of Thespius.<sup>4</sup> Now

<sup>1</sup> As to the education of Hercules, see Theocritus, xxiv. 104 sqq., according to whom Hercules learned wrestling not from Autolycus but from Harpalycus, son of Hermes.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iii. 67. 2; Pausanias, ix. 29. 9; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 213 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Four cubits and one foot, according to the exact measurement of the historian Herodorus. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 210 sq.; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 662.

<sup>4</sup> According to another account, the lion of Cithaeron was killed by Alcahous (Pausanias, i. 41. 3 sq.). But J. Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 216 sq.) agrees with Apollodorus, whose account of Hercules he seems to follow.

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Heyne, though he admits that he had not been consistent ("Animo in gravioribus occupato non fui satis constans in hoc nomine") deliberately preferred Θέσπιος to Θέσπιος: "Verum tamen necesse est Thespii nomen, si quidem Thespiadae dictae sunt filiae." See his critical note on ii. 7. 8 (vol. i. p. 226).

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λεύς δὲ ἦν οὗτος Θεσπιῶν, πρὸς ὃν ἀφίκετο Ἑρακλῆς ἐλεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν λέοντα. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξένισε πεντήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ἐξιώντι νυκτὸς ἐκάστης μίαν συνεύναζε θυγατέρα (πεντήκοντα δὲ αὐτῷ ἦσαν ἐκ Μεγαμῆδης γεγεννημένοι τῆς Ἀρνέου). ἐσπούδαζε γὰρ πάσας ἐξ Ἑρακλέους τεκνοποιήσασθαι. Ἑρακλῆς δὲ μίαν νομίζων εἶναι τὴν αἰὲ συνευναζομένην, συνῆλθε πάσαις. καὶ χειρωσάμενος τὸν λέοντα τὴν μὲν δορὰν ἠμφιέσατο, τῷ χάσματι δὲ ἐχρήσατο κόρυθι.

- 11 Ἀνακάμπτοντι δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας συνήντησαν κήρυκες παρὰ Ἐργίνου πεμφθέντες, ἵνα παρὰ Θεβαίων τὸν δασμὸν λάβωσιν. ἐτέλουν δὲ Θεβαῖοι τὸν δασμὸν Ἐργίνῳ δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. Κλύμενον τὸν Μινυῶν βασιλέα λίθῳ βαλὼν Μενοικέως ἠνίοχος, ὄνομα Περιήρης, ἐν Ὀγχηστῷ<sup>1</sup> Ποσειδῶνος τεμένει τιτρώσκει. ὁ δὲ κομισθεὶς εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν ἠμιθυῆς ἐπισκῆπτει τελευτῶν Ἐργίνῳ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκδικῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ. στρατευσάμενος δὲ Ἐργίνος ἐπὶ Θήβας, κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους ἐσπείσατο μεθ' ὄρκων, ὅπως πέμπωσιν αὐτῷ Θεβαῖοι δασμὸν ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη, κατὰ ἔτος ἑκατὸν βόας. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ὀγχηστῷ Aegius : Ὀρχηστῷ A.

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<sup>1</sup> As to Hercules and the daughters of Thespius, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29. 2 sq.; Pausanias, ix. 27. 6 sq.; Athenaeus, xiii. 4, p. 556 F; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 221 sqq. The father of the damsels is called Thestius by Pausanias and Athenaeus, who refers to Herodorus as his authority. See the Critical Note.

this Thespius was king of Thespieae, and Hercules went to him when he wished to catch the lion. The king entertained him for fifty days, and each night, as Hercules went forth to the hunt, Thespius bedded one of his daughters with him (fifty daughters having been borne to him by Megamede, daughter of Arneus); for he was anxious that all of them should have children by Hercules. Thus Hercules, though he thought that his bed-fellow was always the same, had intercourse with them all.<sup>1</sup> And having vanquished the lion, he dressed himself in the skin and wore the scalp<sup>2</sup> as a helmet.

As he was returning from the hunt, there met him heralds sent by Erginus to receive the tribute from the Thebans.<sup>3</sup> Now the Thebans paid tribute to Erginus for the following reason. Clymenus, king of the Minyans, was wounded with a cast of a stone by a charioteer of Menoeceus, named Perieres, in a precinct of Poseidon at Onchestus; and being carried dying to Orchomenus, he with his last breath charged his son Erginus to avenge his death. So Erginus marched against Thebes, and after slaughtering not a few of the Thebans he concluded a treaty with them, confirmed by oaths, that they should send him tribute for twenty years, a hundred kine every year. Falling in with the heralds on their

<sup>2</sup> More exactly, "the gaping mouth." In Greek art Hercules is commonly represented wearing the lion's skin, often with the lion's scalp as a hood on his head. See, for example, A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. figs. 724, 726, 729, 730.

<sup>3</sup> As to Hercules and Erginus, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 3-5; Pausanias, ix. 37. 2 sq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 226 sqq.



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δασμὸν εἰς Θήβας τοὺς κήρυκας ἀπίοντας συντυ-  
 χῶν Ἑρακλῆς ἐλωβήσατο· ἀποτεμῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν  
 τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ [διὰ σχοινίων]<sup>1</sup> τὰς χει-  
 ρας δήσας ἐκ τῶν τραχήλων, ἔφη τοῦτον Ἐργίῳ  
 καὶ Μινύαις δασμὸν κομίζειν. ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακ-  
 τῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Θήβας. Ἑρακλῆς δὲ λα-  
 βῶν ὄπλα παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ πολεμαρχῶν Ἐργίῳ  
 μὲν ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ Μινύας ἐτρέψατο καὶ τὸν  
 δασμὸν διπλοῦν ἠνάγκασε Θηβαίοις φέρειν. συν-  
 ἔβη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἀμφιτρύωνα γενναίως  
 μαχόμενον τελευτήσαι. λαμβάνει δὲ Ἑρακλῆς  
 παρὰ Κρέοντος ἀριστεῖον τὴν πρεσβυτάτην θυγα-  
 τέρα Μεγάραν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐγένοντο τρεῖς,  
 Θηρίμαχος Κρεοντιάδης Δηκίῳ. τὴν δὲ νεωτέ-  
 ραν θυγατέρα Κρέων Ἴφικλεῖ<sup>3</sup> δίδωσιν, ἥδη παῖδα  
 Ἰόλαον ἔχοντι ἐξ Αὐτομεδούσης τῆς Ἀλκάθου.  
 ἔγημε δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμήνην μετὰ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος  
 θάνατον Διὸς παῖς Ῥαδάμανθυς, κατῴκει δὲ ἐν  
 Ὠκαλείαις<sup>4</sup> τῆς Βοιωτίας πεφευγῶς.

<sup>1</sup> διὰ σχοινίων *ab inepto Graeculo apposita suspicor*, Heyne. The words are at least misplaced, if, as seems probable, ἀποτεμῶν is to be understood as applying to τὰς χεῖρας as well as to τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγανακτῶν. Heyne proposed to insert ἐκείνος or Ἐργίῳ. The sense seems to require one or the other.

<sup>3</sup> Ἴφικλεῖ Wagner: Ἰφικλῶ A. For the form Ἴφικλῆς, see i. 8, ii. 4. 8 (thrice), ii. 7. 3; and compare R. Wagner, *Építoma Vaticana*, pp. 98 sq.

<sup>4</sup> Ὠκαλείαις A. In Homer (*Il.* ii. 501), Strabo (ix. 2. 26, p. 410), and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Ὠκαλέα) the name occurs in the singular, Ὠκαλέα (Ὠκαλέη Homer).

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 228. As to the sons of Hercules by Megara, compare below, ii. 7. 8. The ancients differed considerably as to the

way to Thebes to demand this tribute, Hercules outraged them; for he cut off their ears and noses and hands, and having fastened them [by ropes] from their necks, he told them to carry that tribute to Erginus and the Minyans. Indignant at this outrage, Erginus marched against Thebes. But Hercules, having received weapons from Athena and taken the command, killed Erginus, put the Minyans to flight, and compelled them to pay double the tribute to the Thebans. And it chanced that in the fight Amphitryon fell fighting bravely. And Hercules received from Creon his eldest daughter Megara as a prize of valour,<sup>1</sup> and by her he had three sons, Therimachus, Creontiades, and Deicoön. But Creon gave his younger daughter to Iphicles, who already had a son Iolaus by Automedusa, daughter of Alcathus. And Rhadamanthys, son of Zeus, married Alcmena after the death of Amphitryon, and dwelt as an exile at Ocaleae in Boeotia.<sup>2</sup>

number and names of the children whom Hercules had by Megara. According to Pindar (*Isthm.* iv. 63 sq.) there were eight of them. Euripides speaks of three (*Hercules Furens*, 995 sq.). See Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104); Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 48 and 663; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 269 (who agrees with Apollodorus and quotes Asclepiades as his authority); Hyginus, *Fab.* 31 and 32. The Thebans celebrated an annual festival, with sacrifices and games, in honour of the children. See Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 61 (104) sqq., with the Scholiast.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50, who says that Rhadamanthys fled from Crete because he had murdered his own brother. He agrees with Pausanias that the worthy couple took up their abode at Ocaleae (or Ocalea) in Boeotia. Their tombs were shown near Haliartus, in Boeotia. See Plutarch, *Lysander*, 28. The grave of Alcmena was excavated in antiquity, during the Spartan occupation of the Cadmea. It was found to contain a small bronze bracelet, two earthen-

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Προμαθῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ παρ' Ἐυρύτου<sup>2</sup> τὴν τοξικὴν Ἡρακλῆς ἔλαβε παρὰ Ἐρμού μὲν ξίφος, παρ' Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ τόξα, παρὰ δὲ Ἡφαίστου θώρακα χρυσοῦν, παρὰ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς πέπλον· ῥόπαλον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔτεμεν ἐκ Νεμέας.

- 12 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Μινύας μάχην συνέβη αὐτῷ κατὰ ζῆλον Ἡρας μανῆναι, καὶ τοὺς τε ἰδίους παῖδας, οὓς ἐκ Μεγάρων εἶχεν, εἰς πῦρ ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ τῶν Ἴφικλέους<sup>3</sup> δύο· διὸ καταδικάσας ἑαυτοῦ φυγὴν καθαίρεται μὲν ὑπὸ Θεσπίου,<sup>4</sup> παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς πυνθάνεται τοῦ θεοῦ ποῦ κατοικήσει. ἡ δὲ Πυθία τότε πρῶτον Ἡρακλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσε· τὸ δὲ πρῶτον<sup>5</sup> Ἀλκείδης

<sup>1</sup> προμαθῶν A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: προσμαθῶν ER, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐυρύτου Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: αὐτοῦ A, Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> Ἴφικλέους E: Ἰφίκλου A.

<sup>4</sup> Θεσπίου Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: Θεστίου EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller. <sup>5</sup> πρῶτον E: πρῶτον A.

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ware jars, and a bronze tablet inscribed with ancient and unknown characters. See Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 5.

A different story of the marriage of Rhadamanthys and Alcmena was told by Pherecydes. According to him, when Alcmena died at a good old age, Zeus commanded Hermes to steal her body from the coffin in which the sons of Hercules were conveying it to the grave. Hermes executed the commission, adroitly substituting a stone for the corpse in the coffin. Feeling the coffin very heavy, the sons of Hercules set it down, and taking off the lid they discovered the fraud. They took out the stone and set it up in a sacred grove at Thebes, where was a shrine of Alcmena. Meantime Hermes had carried off the real Alcmena to the Islands of the Blest, where she was married to Rhadamanthys. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 33. This quaint story is alluded to by Pausanias, who tells us (ix. 16. 7) that there was no tomb of Alcmena at Thebes, because at her death she had been turned to stone.

Having first learned from Eurytus the art of archery,<sup>1</sup> Hercules received a sword from Hermes, a bow and arrows from Apollo,<sup>2</sup> a golden breastplate from Hephaestus, and a robe from Athena; for he had himself cut a club at Nemea.

Now it came to pass that after the battle with the Minyans Hercules was driven mad through the jealousy of Hera and flung his own children, whom he had by Megara, and two children of Iphicles into the fire;<sup>3</sup> wherefore he condemned himself to exile, and was purified by Thespius, and repairing to Delphi he inquired of the god where he should dwell.<sup>4</sup> The Pythian priestess then first called him Hercules, for hitherto he was called Alcides.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above ii. 4. 9. According to another account, Hercules learned archery from the exile Rhadamanthys (Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50), and if we accept the MS. reading *αἶτροῦ* in the present passage (see Critical Note), this was the version of the story here followed by Apollodorus. But it seems more likely that *αἶτροῦ* is a scribe's mistake for *Εὐρύτου* than that Apollodorus should have contradicted himself flatly in two passages so near each other. The learned Tzetzes (*l.c.*) mentions no less than three different men—Teutarus, Eurytus, and Rhadamanthys—to whom the honour of having taught Hercules to shoot was variously assigned by tradition.

<sup>2</sup> As to the gifts of the gods to Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 3, who, besides the sword and bow given by Hermes and Apollo, mentions horses given by Poseidon.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 967 *sqq.*; Moschus, iv. 13 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 1 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 38; Nicolaus Damascenus, Frag. 20, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 369; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Hercules was called Alcides after his grandfather Alcaeus, the father of Amphitryon. See above, ii. 4. 5. But, according to another account, the hero was himself called Alcaeus before he received the name of Hercules from Apollo. See Sextus Empiricus, pp. 398 *sq.*, ed. Im. Bekker; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vi. 68 (115)

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προσηγορεύετο. κατοικεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπεν ἐν Τίρυνθι, Εὐρυσθεὶ λατρεύοντα ἔτη δώδεκα, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτασσομένους ἄθλους δέκα<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτελεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔφη, τῶν ἄθλων συντελεσθέντων, ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἔσσεσθαι.

V. Τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Τίρυνθα ἦλθε, καὶ τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ Εὐρυσθέως ἐτέλει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ Νεμέου λέοντος τὴν δорὰν κομίζειν· τοῦτο δὲ ζῶον ἦν ἄτρωτον, ἐκ Τυφῶνος γεγεννημένον.<sup>2</sup> πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν λέοντα ἦλθεν εἰς Κλεωνάς, καὶ ξενίζεται παρὰ ἀνδρὶ χερνήτῃ Μολόρχῳ. καὶ θύειν ἱερεῖον θέλουσι εἰς ἡμέραν ἔφη τηρεῖν τριακοστήν, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας σώως ἐπανέλθῃ, Διὶ σωτήρι θύειν, ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ, τότε ὡς<sup>3</sup> ἥρωι ἐναγίζειν.

<sup>1</sup> δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : δώδεκα EA.

<sup>2</sup> γεγεννημένον ER<sup>a</sup> : γεγεννημένον A.

<sup>3</sup> τότε ὡς Aegius : τῷ τῶς A.

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<sup>1</sup> For the labours of Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1091 sqq.; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 359 sqq., 1270 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 10 sqq.; Pausanias, v. 10. 9, v. 26. 7; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 208 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, 229 sqq.; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 287 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 182 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Nemean lion, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 326 sqq.; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* viii. 6 sqq.; Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1091 sqq.; Theocritus, xxv. 162 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 3 sq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 12; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 232 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to Hesiod, the Nemean lion was begotten by Orthus, the hound of Geryon, upon the monster Echidna. Hyginus says that the lion was bred by the Moon.

<sup>3</sup> As to Hercules and Molorchus, compare Tibullus, iv. 1. 12 sq.; Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 19, with Servius's note; Martial, iv. 64. 30, ix. 43. 13; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 1. 28.

<sup>4</sup> The Greeks had two distinct words for sacrificing, according as the sacrifice was offered to a god or to a hero, that is, to a worshipful dead man; the former sacrifice was expressed by the verb θύειν, the latter by the verb ἐναγίζειν.

And she told him to dwell in Tiryns, serving Eurystheus for twelve years and to perform the ten labours imposed on him, and so, she said, when the tasks were accomplished, he would be immortal.<sup>1</sup>

V. When Hercules heard that, he went to Tiryns and did as he was bid by Eurystheus. First, Eurystheus ordered him to bring the skin of the Nemean lion;<sup>2</sup> now that was an invulnerable beast begotten by Typhon. On his way to attack the lion he came to Cleonae and lodged at the house of a day-labourer, Molorchus;<sup>3</sup> and when his host would have offered a victim in sacrifice, Hercules told him to wait for thirty days, and then, if he had returned safe from the hunt, to sacrifice to Saviour Zeus, but if he were dead, to sacrifice to him as to a hero.<sup>4</sup> And having

The verbal distinction can hardly be preserved in English, except by a periphrasis. For the distinction between the two, see Pausanias, ii. 10. 1, ii. 11. 7, iii. 19. 3; and for more instances of *ἐναγίζειν* in this sense, see Pausanias, iii. 1. 8, vi. 21. 11, vii. 17. 8, vii. 19. 10, vii. 20. 9, viii. 14. 10 and 11, viii. 41. 1, ix. 5. 14, ix. 18. 3 and 4, ix. 38. 5, x. 24. 6; *Inscriptiones Graecae Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, ed. G. Dittenberger, p. 32, No. 53. For instances of the antithesis between *θύειν* and *ἐναγίζειν*, see Herodotus, ii. 44; Plutarch, *De Herodoti malignitate*, 13; Ptolemaeus Hephaest., *Nov. Hist.* iii. (*Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, p. 186); Pollux, viii. 91; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 274. The corresponding nouns *θυοίαι* and *ἐναγίσματα* are similarly opposed to each other. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 58. Another word which is used only of sacrificing to heroes or the dead is *ἐντέμνειν*. See, for example, Thucydides, v. 11, *ὡς ἤρωτ' τε ἐντέμνουσι* (of the sacrifices offered at Amphipolis to Brasidas). Sometimes the verbs *ἐναγίζειν* and *ἐντέμνειν* are coupled in this sense. See Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 27 and 28. For more evidence as to the use of these words, see Fr. Pfister, *Der Religiöskult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909-1912), pp. 466 sqq. Compare P. Foucart, *Le culte des héros chez les Grecs* (Paris, 1918), pp. 96, 98 (from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xlii).

• εἰς δὲ τὴν Νεμέαν ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὸν λέοντα μαστεύσας ἐτόξευσε τὸ πρῶτον· ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ἄτρωτον ὄντα, ἀνατεινόμενος τὸ ῥόπαλον ἐδίωκε. συμφυγόντος δὲ εἰς ἀμφίστομον<sup>1</sup> σπήλαιον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐτέραν ἐνφοκδόμησεν<sup>2</sup> εἴσοδον, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐπεισῆλθε τῷ θηρίῳ, καὶ περιθεις τὴν χεῖρα τῷ τραχήλῳ κατέσχευεν ἄγχων ἕως ἔπνιξε, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἐκόμιζεν εἰς Κλεωνάς.<sup>3</sup> καταλαβὼν δὲ τὸν Μόλορχον ἐν τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὡς νεκρῷ μέλλοντα τὸ ἱερεῖον ἐναγίζειν, σωτῆρι θύσας Διὶ ἤγεν εἰς Μυκῆνας τὸν λέοντα. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ καταπλαγείς<sup>4</sup> αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἀπέειπε τὸ λοιπὸν<sup>5</sup> αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιέναι, δεικνύειν δὲ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐκέλευε τοὺς ἄθλους. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι δείσας καὶ πίθον ἑαυτῷ χαλκοῦν εἰσκριβῆναι ὑπὸ γῆν<sup>6</sup> κατεσκεύασε, καὶ πέμπων κήρυκα Κοπρέα Πέλοπος τοῦ Ἡλείου ἐπέταττε τοὺς ἄθλους. οὗτος δὲ Ἴφιτον κτείνας, φυγὼν εἰς Μυκῆνας καὶ τυχὼν παρ' Εὐρυσθέως καθαρσίῳν ἐκεῖ κατώκει.

- 2 Δεύτερον δὲ ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν Λερναίαν ὕδραν κτείνειν· αὕτη δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Λέρνης ἔλει ἐκτραφεῖσα ἐξέβαινε εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ τά τε

<sup>1</sup> - τὸ: ἀμφίστομον Wagner, comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 3 *sq.*    <sup>2</sup> ἐνφοκδόμησεν E: ἀνφοκδόμησεν A.

<sup>3</sup> Κλεωνάς Hercher, Wagner (comparing Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 1): Μυκῆνας A.

<sup>4</sup> καταπλαγείς E: καταλαβὼν A.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπέειπε τὸ λοιπὸν Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἀπέειπατο λοιπὸν EA.    <sup>6</sup> γῆν E: γῆς A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 1, who however places this incident after the adventure with the Erymanthian boar.

<sup>2</sup> As to the herald Copreus, compare Homer, *Il.* xv. 639 *sq.*, with the note of the Scholiast.

come to Nemea and tracked the lion, he first shot an arrow at him, but when he perceived that the beast was invulnerable, he heaved up his club and made after him. And when the lion took refuge in a cave with two mouths, Hercules built up the one entrance and came in upon the beast through the other, and putting his arm round its neck held it tight till he had choked it; so laying it on his shoulders he carried it to Cleonae. And finding Molorchus on the last of the *thirty* days about to sacrifice the victim to him as to a dead man, he sacrificed to Saviour Zeus and brought the lion to Mycenae. Amazed at his manhood, Eurystheus forbade him thenceforth to enter the city, but ordered him to exhibit the fruits of his labours before the gates. They say, too, that in his fear he had a bronze jar made for himself to hide in under the earth,<sup>1</sup> and that he sent his commands for the labours through a herald, Copreus,<sup>2</sup> son of Pelops the Elean. This Copreus had killed Iphitus and fled to Mycenae, where he was purified by Eurystheus and took up his abode.

As a second labour he ordered him to kill the Lernaean hydra.<sup>3</sup> That creature, bred in the swamp of Lerna, used to go forth into the plain and ravage

<sup>3</sup> Compare Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 419 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 11. 5 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 37. 4, v. 5. 10, v. 17. 11; Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 212 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 237 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 299 *sq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 69 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. Diodorus and Ovid multiply the hydra's heads to a hundred; the sceptical Pausanias (ii. 37. 4) would reduce them to one. Both Diodorus and Pausanias, together with Zenobius and Hyginus, mention that Hercules poisoned his arrows with the gall of the hydra. The account which Zenobius gives of the hydra is clearly based on that of Apollodorus, though as usual he does not name his authority.



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βοσκήματα καὶ τὴν χώραν διέφθειρεν. εἶχε δὲ ἡ ὕδρα ὑπερμέγεθες σῶμα, κεφαλὰς ἔχον ἑννέα, τὰς μὲν ὀκτὼ θνητάς, τὴν δὲ μέσσην ἀθάνατον. ἐπιβὰς οὖν ἄρματος, ἡνιοχοῦντος Ἰολάου, παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Λέρνην, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἵππους ἔστησε, τὴν δὲ ὕδραν εὐρῶν ἔν τινι λόφῳ<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὰς πηγὰς τῆς Ἀμμώνης, ὅπου ὁ φωλεὸς αὐτῆς ὑπῆρχε, βάλλων βέλεσι πεπυρωμένοις ἠνάγκασεν ἐξελθεῖν, ἐκβαίνουσιν δὲ αὐτὴν κρατήσας κατεῖχεν. ἡ δὲ θατέρῳ<sup>2</sup> τῶν ποδῶν ἐνείχετο<sup>3</sup> περιπλακεῖσα. τῷ ῥοπάλῳ δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς κόπτων οὐδὲν ἀνύειν ἠδύνατο<sup>4</sup>· μίᾳς γὰρ κοπτομένης κεφαλῆς δύο ἀνεφύοντο. ἐπεβοήθει δὲ καρκίνος τῇ ὕδρᾳ ὑπερμεγέθης, δάκνων τὸν πόδα. διὸ τοῦτον ἀποκτείνας ἐπεκαλέσατο καὶ αὐτὸς βοηθὸν τὸν Ἰόλαον, ὃς μέρος τι καταπρήσας τῆς ἐγγύς ὕλης τοῖς δαλοῖς ἐπικαίων τὰς ἀνατολὰς τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐκώλυεν ἀνιέναι. καὶ<sup>5</sup> τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῶν ἀναφυομένων κεφαλῶν περιγεγόμενος, τὴν ἀθάνατον ἀποκόψας κατώρυξε καὶ βαρεῖαν ἐπέθηκε πέτραν, παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν φέρουσαν διὰ Λέρνης εἰς Ἐλαιούντα<sup>6</sup>· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῆς ὕδρας ἀνασχίσας τῇ χολῇ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς ἔβαψεν. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ ἔφη μὴ δεῖν καταριθμῆσαι τοῦτον<sup>7</sup> ἐν τοῖς δέκα<sup>8</sup> τὸν ἄθλον· οὐ γὰρ μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ Ἰολάου τῆς ὕδρας περιεγένετο.

<sup>1</sup> λόφῳ EA: τόφῳ L, V (first hand, in margin).

<sup>2</sup> θατέρῳ E: θάττον A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνείχετο E: ἠνείχετο A.

<sup>4</sup> ἠδύνατο E, Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26: ἐδύνατο A.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ E, Zenobius, *Cent.* vi. 26: κατὰ A.

<sup>6</sup> Ἐλαιούντα, L. Ross, *Reisen und Reiserouten durch Griechenland*, i. (Berlin, 1841), p. 156 note: ἐλεούντα EA.

both the cattle and the country. Now the hydra had a huge body, with nine heads, eight mortal, but the middle one immortal. So mounting a chariot driven by Iolaus, he came to Lerna, and having halted his horses, he discovered the hydra on a hill beside the springs of the Anymone, where was its den. By pelting it with fiery shafts he forced it to come out, and in the act of doing so he seized and held it fast. But the hydra wound itself about one of his feet and clung to him. Nor could he effect anything by smashing its heads with his club, for as fast as one head was smashed there grew up two. A huge crab also came to the help of the hydra by biting his foot.<sup>1</sup> So he killed it, and in his turn called for help on Iolaus who, by setting fire to a piece of the neighbouring wood and burning the roots of the heads with the brands, prevented them from sprouting. Having thus got the better of the sprouting heads, he chopped off the immortal head, and buried it, and put a heavy rock on it, beside the road that leads through Lerna to Elaeus. But the body of the hydra he slit up and dipped his arrows in the gall. However, Eurystheus said that this labour should not be reckoned among the ten because he had not got the better of the hydra by himself, but with the help of Iolaus.

<sup>1</sup> For this service the crab was promoted by Hera, the foe of Hercules, to the rank of a constellation in the sky. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 11 (who quotes as his authority the *Heracles* of Panyasis); Hyginus, *Astronomica*, ii. 23.

<sup>7</sup> τοῦτον Ε, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 2 (τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον): omitted in A.

<sup>8</sup> δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δώδεκα ΕΑ, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 2.

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- 3 Τρίτον ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὴν Κερυνίτιν<sup>1</sup> ἔλαφον εἰς Μυκῆνας ἔμπνουν ἐνεγκεῖν. ἦν δὲ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐν Οἰνόῃ, χρυσόκερος, Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερά· διὸ καὶ βουλόμενος αὐτὴν Ἡρακλῆς μῆτε ἀνελεῖν μῆτε τρώσαι, συνεδίωξεν ὅλον ἐνιαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κάμνον τὸ θηρίον τῇ διώξει συνέφυγεν εἰς ὄρος τὸ λεγόμενον Ἀρτεμίσιον, κάκειθεν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Λύδωνα, τοῦτον διαβαίνειν μέλλουσαν τοξεύσας συνέλαβε, καὶ θέμενος ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διὰ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἠπέιγετο. μετ' Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ Ἄρτεμις συντυχοῦσα ἀφηρεῖτο, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ζῷον αὐτῆς κτείνοντα<sup>2</sup> κατεμέμφετο. ὁ δὲ ὑποτιμησάμενος τὴν ἀνάγκην, καὶ τὸν αἴτιον εἰπὼν Εὐρυσθέα γεγονέναι, πραΰνας τὴν ὀργὴν τῆς θεοῦ τὸ θηρίον ἐκόμισεν ἔμπνουν εἰς Μυκῆνας.
- 4 Τέταρτον ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐρυμάνθιον κάπρον ζῶντα κομίζειν· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ θηρίον ἠδίκηκε τὴν Ψωφίδα, ὀρμώμενον ἐξ ὄρους δ' καλοῦσιν Ἐρύμανθον. διερχόμενος οὖν Φολόην ἐπιξενούται Κενταύρῳ Φόλῳ, Σειληνοῦ καὶ νύμφης

<sup>1</sup> Κερυνίτιν Heyne : κερνήτιν E : κερνήτην A.

<sup>2</sup> κτείνοντα Wagner : κτείναντα EA.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 28 (50) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 375 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 265 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. Pindar says that in his quest of the hind with the golden horns Hercules had seen "the land at the back of the cold north wind." Hence, as the reindeer is said to be the only species of deer of which the female has antlers, Sir William Ridgeway argues ingeniously that the hind with the golden horns was no other than the reindeer. See his *Early Age of Greece* i. (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 360 *sqq.* Later Greek tradition, as we see from Apollodorus, did not place the native land of the

As a third labour he ordered him to bring the Cerynitian hind alive to Mycenæ.<sup>1</sup> Now the hind was at Oenoe; it had golden horns and was sacred to Artemis; so wishing neither to kill nor wound it, Hercules hunted it a whole year. But when, weary with the chase, the beast took refuge on the mountain called Artemisius, and thence passed to the river Ladon, Hercules shot it just as it was about to cross the stream, and catching it put it on his shoulders and hastened through Arcadia. But Artemis with Apollo met him, and would have wrested the hind from him, and rebuked him for attempting to kill her sacred animal.<sup>2</sup> Howbeit, by pleading necessity and laying the blame on Eurystheus, he appeased the anger of the goddess and carried the beast alive to Mycenæ.

As a fourth labour he ordered him to bring the Erymanthian boar alive; <sup>3</sup> now that animal ravaged Psophis, sallying from a mountain which they call Erymanthus. So passing through Pholoe he was entertained by the centaur Pholus, a son of Silenus by a

hind so far away. Oenoe was a place in Argolis. Mount Artemisius is the range which divides Argolis from the plain of Mantinea. The Ladon is the most beautiful river of Arcadia, if not of Greece. The river Cerynites, from which the hind took its name, is a river which rises in Arcadia and flows through Achaia into the sea. The modern name of the river is *Bouphousia*. See Pausanias, vii. 25. 5, with my note.

<sup>2</sup> The hind is said to have borne the inscription, "Taygete dedicated (me) to Artemis." See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 29 (53) *sq.*, with the Scholiast.

<sup>3</sup> As to the Erymanthian boar and the centaurs, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1095 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 268 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. The boar's tusks were said to be preserved in a sanctuary of Apollo at Cumæ in Campania (Pausanias, viii. 24. 5).

μελίας παιδί. οὗτος Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν ὄπτα παρείχε τὰ κρέα, αὐτὸς δὲ ὠμοῖς ἐχρήτο. αἰτοῦντος δὲ οἶνον Ἡρακλέους, ἔφη δεδοικέναι τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Κενταύρων ἀνοιξαι πίθον· θαρρεῖν δὲ παρακελευσάμενος Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸν ἤνοιξε, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς ὀσμῆς<sup>1</sup> αἰσθόμενοι παρήσαν οἱ Κένταυροι, πέτραις ὀπλισμένοι καὶ ἐλάταις, ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Φόλου σπήλαιον. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρῶτους τολμήσαντας εἰσω παρελθεῖν Ἄγχιον καὶ Ἄγριον Ἡρακλῆς ἐτρέψατο βάλλων δαλοῖς, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐτόξευσε διώκων ἄχρι τῆς Μαλέας. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς Χείρωνα συνέφυγον, ὃς ἐξελαθεὶς ὑπὸ Λαπιθῶν ὄρους Πηλίου παρὰ Μαλέαν κατώκησε. τούτῳ περιπεπτωκότας τοὺς Κενταύρους τοξεύων ἴησι βέλος ὃ Ἡρακλῆς, τὸ δὲ ἐνεχθὲν Ἐλάτου διὰ τοῦ βραχίονος τῷ γόνατι τοῦ Χείρωνος ἐμπήγνυται. ἀνιαθεὶς δὲ Ἡρακλῆς προσδραμὼν τό τε βέλος ἐξείλκυσε, καὶ δόντος Χείρωνος φάρμακον ἐπέθηκεν. ἀνίατον δὲ ἔχων τὸ ἔλκος εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον ἀπαλλάσσεται.<sup>2</sup> κάκει τελευτήσαι βουλόμενος, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος ἐπεὶπερ ἀθάνατος ἦν, ἀντιδόντος Διὶ Προμηθέως αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἀντ' αὐτοῦ γενησόμενον ἀθάνατον, οὕτως ἀπέθανεν. οἱ λοιποὶ δὲ τῶν Κενταύρων φεύγουσιν ἄλλος ἄλλαχῆ, καὶ τινὲς μὲν παρεγένοντο εἰς ὄρος Μαλέαν, Εὐρυτιῶν δὲ εἰς Φολόην, Νέσσος δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὔηνον. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὑποδεξάμενος Ποσει-

<sup>1</sup> τῆς ὀσμῆς E: διὰ τῆς ὀσμῆς A.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαλλάσσεται Scaliger: ἀλλάσσεται EA.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν Wagner: τὸν EA; Προμηθέα τὸν Hemsterhuis on Lucian, *Dialog. Mort.* 26.

Melian nymph.<sup>1</sup> He set roast meat before Hercules, while he himself ate his meat raw. When Hercules called for wine, he said he feared to open the jar which belonged to the centaurs in common.<sup>2</sup> But Hercules, bidding him be of good courage, opened it, and not long afterwards, scenting the smell, the centaurs arrived at the cave of Pholus, armed with rocks and firs. The first who dared to enter, Anchius and Agrius, were repelled by Hercules with a shower of brands, and the rest of them he shot and pursued as far as Malea. Thence they took refuge with Chiron, who, driven by the Lapiths from Mount Pelion, took up his abode at Malea. As the centaurs cowered about Chiron, Hercules shot an arrow at them, which, passing through the arm of Elatus, stuck in the knee of Chiron. Distressed at this, Hercules ran up to him, drew out the shaft, and applied a medicine which Chiron gave him. But the hurt proving incurable, Chiron retired to the cave and there he wished to die, but he could not, for he was immortal. However, Prometheus offered himself to Zeus to be immortal in his stead, and so Chiron died. The rest of the centaurs fled in different directions, and some came to Mount Malea, and Eurytion to Pholoe, and Nessus to the river Evenus. The rest of them Poseidon received at Eleusis and

<sup>1</sup> As to these nymphs, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 187. The name perhaps means an ash-tree nymph (from *μελία*, an ash-tree), as Dryad means an oak-tree nymph (from *δρῦς*, an oak-tree).

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 271; Theocritus, vii. 149 *sq.* The jar had been presented by Dionysus to a centaur with orders not to open it till Hercules came (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 12. 3).

δῶν εἰς Ἐλευσίνα ὄρει κατεκάλυψεν. Φόλος δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἐλκύσας ἐκ νεκροῦ τὸ βέλος ἐθαύμαζεν, εἰ τοὺς τηλικούτους τὸ μικρὸν διέφθειρε· τὸ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὀλισθήσαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Φολόην Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Φόλον τελευτήσαντα θεασάμενος, θάψας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ κάπρου θήραν παραγίνεται, καὶ διώξας αὐτὸν ἔκ τινος λόχμης μετὰ κραυγῆς, εἰς χιόνα πολλὴν παρειμένον εἰσῳθήσας<sup>2</sup> ἐμβροχίσας τε ἐκόμισεν εἰς Μυκῆνας.

5 Πέμπτον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ἄθλον τῶν Αὐγείου βοσκημάτων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ μόνον ἐκφορῆσαι τὴν ὄνθον. ἦν δὲ ὁ Αὐγείας βασιλεὺς Ἡλίδος, ὡς μὲν τινες εἶπον, παῖς Ἡλίου, ὡς δὲ τινες, Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Φόρβαντος, πολλὰς δὲ εἶχε βοσκημάτων ποιμένας. τούτῳ προσελθὼν Ἡρακλῆς, οὐ δηλώσας τὴν Εὐρυσθέως ἐπιταγὴν, ἔφασκε μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὄνθον ἐκφορῆσειν, εἰ δώσει τὴν δεκάτην αὐτῷ τῶν βοσκημάτων. Αὐγείας δὲ ἀπιστῶν ὑπισχνεῖται. μαρτυράμενος<sup>3</sup> δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν Αὐγείου παῖδα Φυλέα, τῆς τε αὐλῆς τὸν θεμέλιον διεῖλε καὶ τὸν Ἀλφειὸν καὶ τὸν Πηγεῖον

<sup>1</sup> Φόλος δὲ . . . θάψας αὐτόν. This passage has been emended by Wagner from the Vatican Epitome (E). In the MSS. of Apollodorus (A) it runs as follows: ἐπανελθὼν δὲ εἰς Φολόην Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Φόλον τελευτῶντα θεασάμενος μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, ἐλκύσας ἐκ νεκροῦ τὸ βέλος ἐθαύμαζεν, εἰ τοὺς τηλικούτους τὸ μικρὸν διέφθειρε· τὸ δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὀλισθήσαν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. θάψας δὲ Φόλον Ἡρακλῆς.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσῳθήσας E: omitted in A. Compare Wagner, *Epitome Vaticana*, pp. 100 sq.; and for the late form of the aorist (εἰσῳθήσας for εἰσώσας), see Veitch, *Greek Verbs* (Oxford, 1879), p. 715.

hid them in a mountain. But Pholus, drawing the arrow from a corpse, wondered that so little a thing could kill such big fellows; howbeit, it slipped from his hand and lighting on his foot killed him on the spot.<sup>1</sup> So when Hercules returned to Phloe, he beheld Pholus dead; and he buried him and proceeded to the boar-hunt. And when he had chased the boar with shouts from a certain thicket, he drove the exhausted animal into deep snow, trapped it, and brought it to Mycenae.

The fifth labour he laid on him was to carry out the dung of the cattle of Augeas in a single day.<sup>2</sup> Now Augeas was king of Elis; some say that he was a son of the Sun, others that he was a son of Poseidon, and others that he was a son of Phorbas; and he had many herds of cattle. Hercules accosted him, and without revealing the command of Eurystheus, said that he would carry out the dung in one day, if Augeas would give him the tithe of the cattle. Augeas was incredulous, but promised. Having taken Augeas's son Phyleus to witness, Hercules made a breach in the foundations of the cattle-yard, and then, diverting the courses of the Alpheus and Peneus,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 294.

<sup>2</sup> As to Augeas and his cattle-stalls, see Theocritus, xxv. 7 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 3; Pausanias, v. 1. 9 *sq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 278 *sqq.* (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 629, xi. 700; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 172; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30. According to the rationalistic Pausanias, the name of the father of Augeas was Eleus (*Eleios*), which was popularly corrupted into *Helios*, "Sun"; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300.

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<sup>3</sup> μαρτυράμενος E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 5: μαρτυρούμενος A.



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σύνεγγυς ρέοντας παροχετεύσας ἐπήγαγεν, ἔκρουν δι' ἄλλης ἐξόδου ποιήσας. μαθὼν δὲ Αὐγείας ὅτι κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Εὐρυσθέως τοῦτο ἐπιτετέλεσται, τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀπεδίδου, προσέτι δ' ἠρνεῖτο καὶ μισθὸν ὑποσχέσθαι δώσειν, καὶ κρίνεσθαι περὶ τούτου ἔτοιμος ἔλεγεν εἶναι. καθεζομένων δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν κληθεὶς ὁ Φυλεὺς ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ πατρὸς κατεμαρτύρησεν, εἰπὼν ὁμολογήσαι μισθὸν δώσειν αὐτῷ. ὀργισθεὶς δὲ Αὐγείας, πρὶν τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεχθῆναι, τὸν τε Φυλέα καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα βαδίζειν ἐξ Ἡλιδος ἐκέλευσε. Φυλεὺς μὲν οὖν εἰς Δουλίχιον ἦλθε κάκει κατόκει, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ εἰς Ὠλενον πρὸς Δεξαμενὸν ἦκε, καὶ κατέλαβε τοῦτον μέλλοντα δι' ἀνάγκην μνηστεύειν Εὐρυτίωνι Κενταύρῳ Μνησιμάχην τὴν θυγατέρα· ὑφ' οὗ παρακληθεὶς βοηθεῖν ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην Εὐρυτίωνα ἀπέκτεινεν. Εὐρυσθεὺς δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς δέκα<sup>1</sup> προσεδέξατο τὸν ἄθλον, λέγων ἐπὶ μισθῷ πεπρᾶχθαι.<sup>2</sup>

- 6 Ἐκτον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον αὐτῷ τὰς Στυμφαλίδας ὄριθας ἐκδιῶξαι. ἦν δὲ ἐν Στυμφάλῳ πόλει τῆς Ἀρκαδίας Στυμφαλὶς λεγομένη λίμνη, πολλῆ συνηρεφῆς ὕλη· εἰς ταύτην ὄρνεις συνέφυγον

<sup>1</sup> δέκα Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δώδεκα EA, Peditasius, *De Herculis laboribus*, 5.

<sup>2</sup> πεπρᾶχθαι E, Wagner. The MSS. appear to read πεπραχέναι, and so Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker and Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Il.* ii. 629, with the Scholiast; Pausanias, v. 1. 10, v. 3. 1 and 3.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Bacchylides, referred to by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 295; Bacchylides, ed. R. C. Jebb, p. 430; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 1; Pausanias, vii. 18. 1; Hyginus, *Fab.* 33.

which flowed near each other, he turned them into the yard, having first made an outlet for the water through another opening. When Augeas learned that this had been accomplished at the command of Eurystheus, he would not pay the reward; nay more, he denied that he had promised to pay it, and on that point he professed himself ready to submit to arbitration. The arbitrators having taken their seats, Phyleus was called by Hercules and bore witness against his father, affirming that he had agreed to give him a reward. In a rage Augeas, before the voting took place, ordered both Phyleus and Hercules to pack out of Elis. So Phyleus went to Dulichium and dwelt there,<sup>1</sup> and Hercules repaired to Dexamenus at Olenus.<sup>2</sup> He found Dexamenus on the point of betrothing perforce his daughter Mnesimache to the centaur Eurytion, and, being called upon by him for help, he slew Eurytion when that centaur came to fetch his bride. But Eurystheus would not admit this labour either among the ten, alleging that it had been performed for hire.

The sixth labour he enjoined on him was to chase away the Stymphalian birds.<sup>3</sup> Now at the city of Stymphalus in Arcadia was the lake called Stymphalian, embosomed in a deep wood. To it countless

<sup>3</sup> As to the Stymphalian birds, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1052-1057, with the Scholiast on 1054; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 2; Strabo, viii. 6. 8, p. 371; Pausanias, viii. 22. 4; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 227 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 291 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 20 and 30; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300. These fabulous birds were said to shoot their feathers like arrows. Compare D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, p. 162. From the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*) we learn that the use of a brazen rattle to frighten the birds was mentioned both by Pherecydes and Hellanicus.

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ἄπλετοι, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λύκων ἀρπαγὴν δεδοικυῖαι. ἀμηχανοῦντος οὖν Ἡρακλέους πῶς ἐκ τῆς ὕλης τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐκβάλῃ, χάλκεα κρόταλα δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναῖα παρὰ Ἡφαίστου λαβοῦσα. ταῦτα κρούων ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> τινος ὄρους τῇ λίμνῃ παρακειμένου<sup>2</sup> τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐφόβει· αἱ δὲ τὸν δούπον οὐχ ὑπομένουσαι μετὰ δέους ἀνίπταντο, καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον Ἡρακλῆς ἐτόξευσεν αὐτάς.

- 7 Ἐβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον τὸν Κρήτα ἀγαγεῖν ταῦρον. τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Δίῃ, τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναδοθέντα ἐκ θαλάσσης, ὅτε καταθύσειν Ποσειδῶνι Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φανὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ φασὶ θεασάμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ ταύρου τὸ κάλλος τοῦτον μὲν εἰς τὰ βουκόλια ἀποπέμψαι,<sup>3</sup> θῦσαι δὲ ἄλλον Ποσειδῶνι· ἐφ' οἷς ὀργισθέντα τὸν θεὸν ἀγριῶσαι τὸν ταῦρον. ἐπὶ τοῦτον παραγενόμενος εἰς Κρήτην Ἡρακλῆς, ἐπειδὴ συλλαβεῖν<sup>4</sup> ἀξιοῦντι Μίνως εἶπεν αὐτῷ λαμβάνειν διαγωνισαμένῳ, λαβὼν καὶ<sup>5</sup> πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα διακομίσας ἔδειξε, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἶασεν ἄνετον· ὁ δὲ πλανηθεὶς εἰς<sup>6</sup> Σπάρτην τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν ἄπασαν, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἴσθμόν, εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 6: ὑπὸ A.

<sup>2</sup> παρακειμένου E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 6: περικειμένου A.

<sup>3</sup> ἀποπέμψαι E: ἀποπέμπειν A.      <sup>4</sup> συλλαβεῖν E: λαβεῖν A.

<sup>5</sup> λαβὼν καὶ E: καὶ λαβὼν A..

<sup>6</sup> εἰς E, but apparently absent in A: ἀνὰ Heyne, who, however, would prefer to omit Σπάρτην τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίαν ἄπασαν as an interpolation.

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<sup>1</sup> In no other ancient account of the Stymphalian birds, so far as I know, are wolves mentioned. There is perhaps

birds had flocked for refuge, fearing to be preyed upon by the wolves.<sup>1</sup> So when Hercules was at a loss how to drive the birds from the wood, Athena gave him brazen castanets, which she had received from Hephaestus. By clashing these on a certain mountain that overhung the lake, he scared the birds. They could not abide the sound, but fluttered up in a fright, and in that way Hercules shot them.

The seventh labour he enjoined on him was to bring the Cretan Bull.<sup>2</sup> Acusilaus says that this was the bull that ferried across Europa for Zeus; but some say it was the bull that Poseidon sent up from the sea when Minos promised to sacrifice to Poseidon what should appear out of the sea. And they say that when he saw the beauty of the bull he sent it away to the herds and sacrificed another to Poseidon; at which the god was angry and made the bull savage. To attack this bull Hercules came to Crete, and when, in reply to his request for aid, Minos told him to fight and catch the bull for himself, he caught it and brought it to Eurystheus, and having shown it to him he let it afterwards go free. But the bull roamed to Sparta and all Arcadia, and traversing the

a reminiscence of an ancient legend in the name of the Wolf's Ravine, which is still given to the deep glen, between immense pine-covered slopes, through which the road runs south-westward from Stymphalus to Orchomenus. The glen forms a conspicuous feature in the landscape to anyone seated on the site of the ancient city and looking across the clear shallow water of the lake to the high mountains that bound the valley on the south. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> As to the Cretan bull see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 13. 4; Pausanias, i. 27. 9 *sq.*, v. 10. 9; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 293-298 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

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Μαραθῶνα τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀφικόμενος τοὺς ἐγγχω-  
ρίους διελυμναιετο.

- 8 Ὀγδοον ἄθλον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τὰς Διομήδους  
τοῦ Θρακὸς ἵππους εἰς Μυκῆνας κομίζειν ἦν δὲ  
οὗτος Ἄρεος καὶ Κυρήνης, βασιλεὺς Βιστόνων  
ἔθνους Θρακίου καὶ μαχιμωτάτου, εἶχε δὲ ἀνθρω-  
ποφάγους ἵππους. πλεύσας οὖν μετὰ τῶν ἐκου-  
σίως συνεπομένων καὶ βιασάμενος τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς  
φάτναις τῶν ἵππων ὑπάρχοντας ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν  
θάλασσαν. τῶν δὲ Βιστόνων σὺν ὄπλοις ἐπι-  
βοηθούντων τὰς μὲν ἵππους παρέδωκεν Ἀβδήρῳ<sup>1</sup>  
φυλάσσειν οὗτος δὲ ἦν Ἐρμού παῖς, Λοκρὸς ἐξ  
Ὀπούντος, Ἡρακλέους ἐρώμενος, δν αἱ ἵπποι  
διέφθειραν ἐπισπασάμεναι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Βί-  
στονας διαγωνισάμενος καὶ Διομήδην ἀποκτείνας  
τοὺς λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε<sup>3</sup> φεύγειν, καὶ κτίσας  
πόλιν Ἀβδηρα<sup>4</sup> παρὰ τὸν τάφον τοῦ διαφθα-

<sup>1</sup> Ἀβδήρῳ, E: αὐδήρῳ or ἀνδήρῳ A, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐπισπασάμεναι we should perhaps read διασπασάμεναι, "by tearing him in pieces." The mares were man-eating.

<sup>3</sup> ἠνάγκασε E, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 8: ἠνάγκασε A.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀβδηρα E, Wagner: ἀνδηρον A: Ἀβδηρον Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the man-eating mares of Diomedes, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 15. 3 sq.; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 25; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 245 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 299-308 (who seems to follow Apollodorus, except that he speaks of the animals in the masculine as horses, not mares); Strabo, vii. p. 331, frags. 44 and 47, ed. A. Meineke; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀβδηρα; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30 (who gives the names of four horses, not mares). According to Diodorus Siculus (*l.c.*), Hercules killed the Thracian king Diomedes himself by exposing him to his own mares, which devoured

Isthmus arrived at Marathon in Attica and harried the inhabitants.

The eighth labour he enjoined on him was to bring the mares of Diomedes the Thracian to Mycenae.<sup>1</sup> Now this Diomedes was a son of Ares and Cyrene, and he was king of the Bistones, a very war-like Thracian people, and he owned man-eating mares. So Hercules sailed with a band of volunteers, and having overpowered the grooms who were in charge of the mangers, he drove the mares to the sea. When the Bistones in arms came to the rescue, he committed the mares to the guardianship of Abderus, who was a son of Hermes, a native of Opus in Locris, and a minion of Hercules; but the mares killed him by dragging him after them. But Hercules fought against the Bistones, slew Diomedes and compelled the rest to flee. And he founded a city Abdera beside the grave of Abderus who had been done to death,<sup>2</sup>

him. Further, the historian tells us that when Hercules brought the mares to Eurystheus, the king dedicated them to Hera, and that their descendants existed down to the time of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Strabo, vii. p. 531, frags. 44 and 47, ed. A. Meineke; Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Ἀβδῆρα; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 25. From Philostratus we learn that athletic games were celebrated in honour of Abderus. They comprised boxing, wrestling, the pancratium, and all the other usual contests, with the exception of horse-racing—no doubt because Abderus was said to have been killed by horses. We may compare the rule which excluded horses from the Arician grove, because horses were said to have killed Hippolytus, with whom Virbius, the traditionary founder of the sanctuary, was identified. See Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761-780; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 265 *sq.* When we remember that the Thracian king Lycurgus is said to have been killed by horses in order to restore the fertility of the land (see Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1), we may conjecture that the tradition

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ρέντος Ἀβδήρου, τὰς<sup>1</sup> ἵππους κομίσας Εὐρυσθεὶ ἔδωκε. μεθέντος δὲ αὐτὰς Εὐρυσθέως, εἰς τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὀλυμπον ἐλθοῦσαι πρὸς τῶν θηρίων ἀπόλοντο.

- 9 Ἐνατον ἄθλον Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπέταξε ζωστήρα κομίζειν τὸν Ἴππολύτης. αὕτη δὲ ἐβασίλευεν Ἀμαζόνων, αἱ κατόκουν περὶ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμόν, ἔθνος μέγα τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον ἤσκουν γὰρ ἀνδρίαν, καὶ εἴ ποτε μιγεῖσαι γεννήσειαν, τὰ θήλεα ἔτρεφον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δεξιούς μαστοὺς ἐξέθλιβον, ἵνα μὴ κωλύονται ἀκοντίζειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀριστεροὺς εἶων, ἵνα τρέφοιεν. εἶχε δὲ Ἴππολύτη τὸν Ἄρεος ζωστήρα, σύμβολον τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀπασῶν. ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν ζωστήρα Ἡρακλῆς ἐπέμπετο, λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμούσης τῆς Εὐρυσθέως θυγατρὸς Ἀδμήτης. παραλαβὼν οὖν ἐθελοντὰς συμμάχους ἐν μιᾷ νηὶ ἔπλει,<sup>2</sup> καὶ προσίσχει νήσῳ Πάρῳ, ἣν<sup>3</sup> κατόκουν οἱ Μίνωος υἱοὶ Εὐρυμέδων Χρύσης Νηφαλίων Φιλόλαος. ἀποβάντων<sup>4</sup> δὲ δύο τῶν ἐν <τῇ><sup>5</sup> νηὶ συνέβη τελευτῆσαι ὑπὸ τῶν Μίνωος υἱῶν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀγανακτῶν

<sup>1</sup> τὰς ER: τοὺς A.      <sup>2</sup> πλεῖ E.      <sup>3</sup> ἦν Faber: καὶ A.

<sup>4</sup> ἀποβάντων Heyne: ἀπὸ πάντων A.      <sup>5</sup> τῇ added by Bekker.

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of the man-eating mares of Diomedes, another Thracian king who is said to have been killed by horses, points to a custom of human sacrifice performed by means of horses, whether the victim was trampled to death by their hoofs or tied to their tails and rent asunder. If the sacrifice was offered, as the legend of Lycurgus suggests, for the sake of fertilizing the ground, the reason for thus tearing the victim to pieces may have been to scatter the precious life-giving fragments as widely and as quickly as possible over the barren earth. Compare *Adonis*, *Attis*, *Osiris*<sup>3</sup>, ii. 97 sqq. The games at

and bringing the mares he gave them to Eurystheus. But Eurystheus let them go, and they came to Mount Olympus, as it is called, and there they were destroyed by the wild beasts.

The ninth labour he enjoined on Hercules was to bring the belt of Hippolyte.<sup>1</sup> She was queen of the Amazons, who dwelt about the river Thermodon, a people great in war; for they cultivated the manly virtues, and if ever they gave birth to children through intercourse with the other sex, they reared the females; and they pinched off the right breasts that they might not be trammelled by them in throwing the javelin, but they kept the left breasts, that they might suckle. Now Hippolyte had the belt of Ares in token of her superiority to all the rest. Hercules was sent to fetch this belt because Admete, daughter of Eurystheus, desired to get it. So taking with him a band of volunteer comrades in a single ship he set sail and put in to the island of Paros, which was inhabited by the sons of Minos,<sup>2</sup> to wit, Eurymedon, Chryses, Nephalion, and Philolaus. But it chanced that two of those in the ship landed and were killed by the sons of Minos. Indignant at this, Hercules Abdera are alluded to by the poet Machon, quoted by Athenaeus, viii. 41, p. 349 B.

<sup>1</sup> As to the expedition of Hercules to fetch the belt of the Amazon, see Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 408 sqq.; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 777 sqq., 966 sqq., with the Scholia on vv. 778, 780; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 16; Pausanias, v. 10. 9; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 240 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 309 sqq.; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 1327 (who follows Apollodorus and cites him by name); Hyginus, *Fab.* 30.

<sup>2</sup> According to Diodorus Siculus (v. 79. 2), Rhadamanthys bestowed the island of Paros on his son Alcaeus. Combined with the evidence of Apollodorus, the tradition points to a Cretan colony in Paros.]



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Ἡρακλῆς τούτους μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει, ἕως ἐπιπρεσβευσάμενοι παρεκάλουν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων δύο λαβεῖν, οὗς ἂν αὐτὸς θελήσειεν. ὁ δὲ λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἄνδρόγεω τοῦ Μίνωος υἱοὺς ἀνελόμενος Ἄλκαϊον καὶ Σθένελον, ἦκεν εἰς Μυσίαν πρὸς Λύκον τὸν Δασκύλου, καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ<sup>1</sup> . . . τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως συμβαλόντων, βοηθῶν Λύκῳ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε, μεθ' ὧν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Μύγδονα, ἀδελφὸν Ἀμύκου. καὶ τῆς<sup>2</sup> Βεβρύκων πολλὴν<sup>3</sup> ἀποτεμόμενος γῆν ἔδωκε Λύκῳ· ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν ἐκείνην ἐκάλεσεν Ἡράκλειαν.

Καταπλεύσαντος δὲ εἰς τὸν ἐν Θεμισκύρῳ λιμένα, παραγενομένης εἰς<sup>4</sup> αὐτὸν Ἴππολύτης καὶ τίνος ἦκοι χάριν πυθομένης, καὶ δώσειν τὸν ζωστήρα ὑποσχομένης,<sup>5</sup> Ἡρα μιᾷ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων εἰκασθεῖσα τὸ πλῆθος ἐπεφοίτα, λέγουσα ὅτι<sup>6</sup> τὴν βασιλίδαν ἀφαρπάξουσιν<sup>7</sup> οἱ προσελθόντες ξένοι. αἱ δὲ μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κατέθεον σὺν ἵπποις.<sup>8</sup> ὡς δὲ εἶδεν αὐτὰς καθωπλισμένας Ἡρακλῆς, νομίσας ἐκ δόλου τοῦτο γενέσθαι, τὴν μὲν Ἴππολύτην κτείνας τὸν ζωστήρα ἀφαιρεῖται, πρὸς δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς ἀγωνισάμενος ἀποπλεῖ, καὶ προσίσχει Τροίᾳ.

Συνεβεβήκει δὲ τότε κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἀτυχεῖν τὴν πόλιν. Ἀπόλλων

<sup>1</sup> The passage is corrupt and defective. Heyne proposed to correct and supply it as follows: καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπ' <αὐτοῦ,> τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως εἰσβαλόντος <εἰς τὴν γῆν,> βοηθῶν. Sommer conjectured ὑπ' <αὐτοῦ, τούτου δὲ καὶ> τοῦ Βεβρύκων βασιλέως συμβαλόντων.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς Wagner: τὴν A.    <sup>3</sup> πολλὴν Heyne: πόλιν A.

killed the sons of Minos on the spot and besieged the rest closely, till they sent envoys to request that in the room of the murdered men he would take two, whom he pleased. So he raised the siege, and taking on board the sons of Androgeus, son of Minos, to wit, Alcaeus and Sthenelus, he came to Mysia, to the court of Lycus, son of Dascylus, and was entertained by him; and in a battle between him and the king of the Bebryces Hercules sided with Lycus and slew many, amongst others King Mygdon, brother of Amycus. And he took much land from the Bebryces and gave it to Lycus, who called it all Heraclea.

Having put in at the harbour of Themiscyra, he received a visit from Hippolyte, who inquired why he was come, and promised to give him the belt. But Hera in the likeness of an Amazon went up and down the multitude saying that the strangers who had arrived were carrying off the queen. So the Amazons in arms charged on horseback down on the ship. But when Hercules saw them in arms, he suspected treachery, and killing Hippolyte stripped her of her belt. And after fighting the rest he sailed away and touched at Troy.

But it chanced that the city was then in distress consequently on the wrath of Apollo and Poseidon. For

<sup>4</sup> εἰς E, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1327: ὡς A.

<sup>5</sup> ὑποσχομένης Pediasmus (*De Herculis laboribus*, 9), Hercher, Wagner: ὑποσχομένης EA.

<sup>6</sup> ὅτι E, absent apparently in A.

<sup>7</sup> ἀφαιρέσουσιν ER: ἀρπάσουσιν A.

<sup>8</sup> σὺν Ἰππολίῳ omitted by Hercher.

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γὰρ καὶ Ποσειδῶν τὴν Λαομέδοντος ὕβριν πειράσαι θέλοντες, εἰκασθέντες ἀνθρώποις ὑπέσχοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ τειχιεῖν τὸ Πέργαμον. τοῖς δὲ τειχίσασι τὸν μισθὸν οὐκ ἀπέδιδου. διὰ τοῦτο Ἀπόλλων μὲν λοιμὸν ἔπεμψε, Ποσειδῶν δὲ κῆτος ἀναφερόμενον ὑπὸ πλημμυρίδος, ὃ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ συνήρπαζεν ἀνθρώπους. χρησμῶν δὲ λεγόντων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἔσσεσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, ἐὰν προθῆ<sup>1</sup> Λαομέδων Ἑσιόνην τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ τῷ κῆτει βορὰν, οὗτος<sup>2</sup> προὔθηκε ταῖς πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης πέτραις προσαρτήσας. ταύτην

<sup>1</sup> προθῆ E: προσθῆ A.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ κῆτει βορὰν, οὗτος E: βορὰν κῆτει, ὃ δὲ A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Homer, *Il.* vii. 452 sq., xxi. 441-457. According to the former of these passages, the walls of Troy were built by Poseidon and Apollo jointly for king Laomedon. But according to the latter passage the walls were built by Poseidon alone, and while he thus toiled as a mason, Apollo served as a herdsman, tending the king's cattle in the wooded glens of Ida. Their period of service lasted for a year, and at the end of it the faithless king not only dismissed the two deities without the stipulated wages which they had honestly earned, but threatened that, if they did not take themselves off, he would tie Apollo hand and foot and sell him for a slave in the islands, not however before he had lopped off the ears of both of them with a knife. Thus insulted as well as robbed, the two gods retired with wrath and indignation at their hearts. This strange tale, told by Homer, is alluded to by Pindar (*Olymp.* viii. 30 (40) sqq.), who adds to it the detail that the two gods took the hero Aeacus with them to aid them in the work of fortification; and the Scholiast on Pindar (pp. 194 sq. ed. Boeckh) explains that, as Troy was fated to be captured, it was necessary that in building the walls the immortals should be assisted by a mortal, else the city would have been impregnable. The sarcastic Lucian tells us (*De sacrificiis*, 4) that both Apollo and Poseidon laboured as bricklayers at the walls of Troy, and that the sum of which the king cheated them was more than thirty

desiring to put the wantonness of Laomedon to the proof, Apollo and Poseidon assumed the likeness of men and undertook to fortify Pergamum for wages. But when they had fortified it, he would not pay them their wages.<sup>1</sup> Therefore Apollo sent a pestilence, and Poseidon a sea monster, which, carried up by a flood, snatched away the people of the plain. But as oracles foretold deliverance from these calamities if Laomedon would expose his daughter Hesione to be devoured by the sea monster, he exposed her by fastening her to the rocks near the sea.<sup>2</sup>

Trojan drachmas. The fraud is alluded to by Virgil (*Georg.* i. 502) and Horace (*Odes*, iii. 3. 21 *sq.*). Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 89; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 194 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 157; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 43 *sq.*, 138 (First Vatican Mythographer, 136; Second Vatican Mythographer, 193). Homer does not explain why Apollo and Poseidon took service with Laomedon, but his Scholiast (on *Il.* xxi. 444), in agreement with Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 34), says that their service was a punishment inflicted on them by Zeus for a conspiracy into which some of the gods had entered for the purpose of putting him, the supreme god, in bonds. The conspiracy is mentioned by Homer (*Il.* i. 399 *sqq.*), who names Poseidon, Hera, and Athena, but not Apollo, among the conspirators; their nefarious design was defeated by the intervention of Thetis and the hundred-handed giant Briareus. We have already heard of Apollo serving a man in the capacity of neatherd as a punishment for murder perpetrated by the deity (see above, i. 9. 15, with the note). These backstair chronicles of Olympus shed a curious light on the early Greek conception of divinity.

<sup>2</sup> For the story of the rescue of Hesione by Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 42; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xx. 146; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 211 *sqq.*; Valerius Flaccus, *Argon.* ii. 451 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 157; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 44 (First Vatican Mythographer, 136). A curious variant

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ιδὼν ἐκκειμένην Ἡρακλῆς ὑπέσχετο σώσειν,<sup>1</sup> εἰ τὰς ἵππους παρὰ Λαομέδοντος λήψεται ἄς Ζεὺς ποινήν τῆς Γανυμήδους ἀρπαγῆς ἔδωκε. δώσειν δὲ Λαομέδοντος εἰπόντος, κτείνας τὸ κῆτος Ἡσιόνην ἔσωσε. μὴ βουλομένου δὲ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦναι, πολεμήσειν Τροία<sup>2</sup> ἀπειλήσας ἀνήχθη.

Καὶ προσίσχει Αἴνῳ, ἔνθα ξενίζεται ὑπὸ Πόλτῳ. ἀποπλέων δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος τῆς Αἰνίας Σαρπηδόνα, Ποσειδῶνος μὲν υἱὸν ἀδελφὸν δὲ Πόλτῳ, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ παραγεγόμενος εἰς Θάσον καὶ χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Θρᾶκας ἔδωκε τοῖς Ἀνδρόγεω παισὶ κατοικεῖν. ἐκ Θάσου δὲ ὄρμηθεις ἐπὶ Τορρώνην Πολύγονον καὶ Τηλέγονον, τοὺς Πρωτέως τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος υἱούς, παλαίειν προκαλουμένους κατὰ τὴν πάλην ἀπέκτεινε. κομίσας δὲ τὸν ζωστῆρα εἰς Μυκῆνας ἔδωκεν Εὐρυσθεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> σώσειν E: σώσειν αὐτὴν A.

<sup>2</sup> Τροία E: Τροίαν A.

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of the story is told, without mention of Hesione, by the Second Vatican Mythographer (*Fab.* 193, vol. i. p. 138, ed. G. H. Bode). Tzetzes says that Hercules, in full armour, leaped into the jaws of the sea-monster, and was in its belly for three days hewing and hacking it, and that at the end of the three days he came forth without any hair on his head. The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) tells the tale similarly, and refers to Hellanicus as his authority. The story of Hercules and Hesione corresponds closely to that of Perseus and Andromeda (see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 3). Both tales may have originated in a custom of sacrificing maidens to be the brides of the Sea. Compare *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 150 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> The horses were given by Zeus to Tros, the father of Ganymede. See Homer, *Il.* v. 265 *sqq.*; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 210 *sq.*; Pausanias, v. 24. 5. According to

Seeing her exposed, Hercules promised to save her on condition of receiving from Laomedon the mares which Zeus had given in compensation for the rape of Ganymede.<sup>1</sup> On Laomedon's saying that he would give them, Hercules killed the monster and saved Hesione. But when Laomedon would not give the stipulated reward,<sup>2</sup> Hercules put to sea after threatening to make war on Troy.<sup>3</sup>

And he touched at Aenus, where he was entertained by Poltys. And as he was sailing away he shot and killed on the Aenian beach a lewd fellow, Sarpedon, son of Poseidon and brother of Poltys. And having come to Thasos and subjugated the Thracians who dwelt in the island, he gave it to the sons of Androgeus to dwell in. From Thasos he proceeded to Torone, and there, being challenged to wrestle by Polygonus and Telegonus, sons of Proteus, son of Poseidon, he killed them in the wrestling match.<sup>4</sup> And having brought the belt to Mycenae he gave it to Eurystheus.

another account, which had the support of a Cyclic poet, the compensation given to the bereaved father took the shape, not of horses, but of a golden vine wrought by Hephaestus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1391. As the duty of Ganymede was to pour the red nectar from a golden bowl in heaven (*Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, 206), there would be a certain suitability in the bestowal of a golden vine to replace him in his earthly home.

<sup>1</sup> As to the refusal of Laomedon to give the horses to Hercules, see Homer, *Il.* v. 638-651, xxi. 441-457; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 213 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69. Laomedon twice broke his word, first to Poseidon and Apollo and afterwards to Hercules. Hence Ovid speaks of "the twice-perjured walls of Troy" (*Metamorph.* xi. 215).

<sup>2</sup> As to the siege and capture of Troy by Hercules, see below, ii. 6. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 320 *sq.*

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10. Δέκατον ἐπετάγη<sup>1</sup> ἄθλον τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας<sup>2</sup> ἐξ Ἐρυθείας κομίζειν. Ἐρύθεια δὲ ἦν Ὀκεανοῦ πλησίον κειμένη νῆσος, ἣ νῦν Γάδειρα καλεῖται. ταύτην κατώκει Γηρυόνης Χρυσάορος καὶ Καλλιρρόης τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ, τριῶν ἔχων ἀνδρῶν συμφυῆς σῶμα, συνηγμένον<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἓν κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα, ἐσχισμένον δὲ<sup>4</sup> εἰς τρεῖς ἀπὸ λαγόνων τε καὶ μηρῶν. εἶχε δὲ φοινικᾶς βόας, ὧν ἦν βουκόλος Εὐρυτίων, φύλαξ δὲ Ὀρθος<sup>5</sup> ὁ κύων δικέφαλος ἐξ Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος γεγεννημένος.<sup>6</sup> πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας διὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἄγρια πολλὰ <ζῶα> ἀνελῶν<sup>7</sup> Λιβύης ἐπέβαινε,<sup>8</sup> καὶ παρελθὼν Ταρτησσὸν ἔστησε σημεῖα τῆς πορείας ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης

<sup>1</sup> ἐπετάγη E: δὲ ἐτάγη A.

<sup>2</sup> βόας E: βοῦς A.

<sup>3</sup> συνηγμένον μὲν Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> δὲ Heyne: τε A.

<sup>5</sup> Ὀρθος Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10: Ὀρθος A. See exegetical note on this passage.

<sup>6</sup> γεγεννημένος BC.

<sup>7</sup> πῶλλα <ζῶα> ἀνελῶν Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 3): πῶλλα παρελθῶν A.

<sup>8</sup> ἐπέβη Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E, Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> As to Hercules and the cattle of Geryon, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 287–294, 979–983; Pindar, *Frag.* 169 (151), ed. Sandys; Herodotus, iv. 8; Plato, *Gorgias*, 39, p. 484 B; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17 sq.; Pausanias, iii. 18. 13, iv. 36. 3; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 249 sqq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 322–352 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 120; Solinus, xxiii. 12; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Herodotus, iv. 8; Strabo, iii. 2. 11, p. 148, iii. 5. 4, p. 169; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 120; Solinus, xxiii. 12. Gadir is Cadiz. According to Pliny (*l.c.*), the name is derived from a Punic word *gadir*, meaning “hedge.” Compare Dionysius, *Perieg.* 453 sqq. The same word *agadir* is still

As a tenth labour he was ordered to fetch the kine of Geryon from Erythia.<sup>1</sup> Now Erythia was an island near the ocean; it is now called Gadira.<sup>2</sup> This island was inhabited by Geryon, son of Chrysaor by Callirrhoe, daughter of Ocean. He had the body of three men grown together and joined in one at the waist, but parted in three from the flanks and thighs.<sup>3</sup> He owned red kine, of which Eurytion was the herdsman and Orthus,<sup>4</sup> the two-headed hound, begotten by Typhon on Echidna, was the watch-dog. So journeying through Europe to fetch the kine of Geryon he destroyed many wild beasts and set foot in Libya,<sup>5</sup> and proceeding to Tartessus he erected as tokens of his journey two pillars over against each

used in the south of Morocco in the sense of "fortified house," and many places in that country bear the name. Amongst them the port of Agadir is the best known. See E. Doutté, *En tribu* (Paris, 1914), pp. 50 sq. The other name of the island is given by Solinus (*l.c.*) in the form Erythrea, and by Mela (iii. 47) in the form Eythria.

<sup>3</sup> As to the triple form of Geryon, compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 287; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 870; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 423 sq.; Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Pausanias, v. 19. 1; Lucian, *Toxaris*, 62; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 652; Lucretius, v. 28; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 14. 7 sq.; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 289; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 184 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30 and 151.

<sup>4</sup> The watchdog's name is variously given as Orthus (*Orthos*) and Orthrus (*Orthros*). See Hesiod, *Theog.* 293 (where *Orthos* seems to be the better reading); Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Post-homerica*, vi. 253 (*Orthros*); Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* i. 13 (15) (*Orthos*); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E (*Orthros*, so Stallbaum); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 333 (*Orthros*); Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10 (*Orthos*); Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300 (*Orthrus*).

<sup>5</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 3 sq., who says that Hercules completely cleared Crete of wild beasts, and that he subdued many of the wild beasts in the deserts of Libya and rendered the land fertile and prosperous.



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ἀντιστοιχοῦς δύο στήλας. θερόμενος<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὑπὸ Ἡλίου κατὰ τὴν πορείαν, τὸ τόξον ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐνέτεινεν· ὁ δὲ τὴν ἀνδρείαν αὐτοῦ θαυμάσας χρύσειον ἔδωκε δέπας, ἐν ᾧ τὸν Ὀκεανὸν διεπέρασε. καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐρύθειαν ἐν ὄρει Ἀβαντι αὐλίζεσθαι. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ κύων ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὄρμα· ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τῷ ῥοπαλῷ παίει,

<sup>1</sup> θερόμενος R, Pediasmus, *De Herculis laboribus*, 10; θερμαιόμενος A.

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<sup>1</sup> The opinions of the ancients were much divided on the subject of the Pillars of Hercules. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, pp. 169–172. The usual opinion apparently identified them with the rock of Calpe (Gibraltar) and the rock of Abyla, Abila, or Abylica (Ceuta) on the northern and southern sides of the straits. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, p. 170; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 649; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 4; Mela, i. 27, ii. 95; Martianus Capella, vi. 624. Further, it seems to have been commonly supposed that before the time of Hercules the two continents were here joined by an isthmus, and that the hero cut through the isthmus and so created the straits. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 18. 5; Seneca, *Hercules furens*, 235 sqq.; *id. Hercules Octaeus*, 1240; Pliny, *l.c.*; Mela, i. 27; Martianus Capella, vi. 625. Some people, however, on the contrary, thought that the straits were formerly wider, and that Hercules narrowed them to prevent the monsters of the Atlantic ocean from bursting into the Mediterranean (Diodorus Siculus, *l.c.*). An entirely different opinion identified the Pillars of Hercules with two brazen pillars in the sanctuary of Hercules at Gadir (Cadiz), on which was engraved an inscription recording the cost of building the temple. See Strabo, iii. 5. 5, p. 170; compare Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 242, who speaks of "the columns of Hercules consecrated at Gadir." For other references to the Pillars of Hercules, see Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 43 sq., *Nem.* iii. 21, *Isthm.* iv. 11 sq.; Athenaeus, vii. 98, p. 315 CD; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 339 (who here calls the pillars Alybe and Abinna); Scholiast on Plato, *Timaeus*, p. 24 E; Dionysius, *Orbis Descriptio*, 64–68, with the commentary of Eustathius (*Geographi Graeci*

other at the boundaries of Europe and Libya.<sup>1</sup> But being heated by the Sun on his journey, he bent his bow at the god, who in admiration of his hardihood, gave him a golden goblet in which he crossed the ocean.<sup>2</sup> And having reached Erythia he lodged on Mount Abas. However the dog, perceiving him, rushed at him; but he smote it with his club, and

*Minores*, ed. C. Müller, ii. pp. 107, 228). According to Eustathius (*l.c.*), Calpe was the name given to the rock of Gibraltar by the barbarians, but its Greek name was Alybe; and the rock of Ceuta was called Abenna by the barbarians but by the Greeks Cyngetica, that is, the Hunter's Rock. He tells us further that the pillars were formerly named the Pillars of Cronus, and afterwards the Pillars of Briareus.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus seems to be here following Pherecydes, as we learn from a passage which Athenaeus (xi. 39, p. 470 C D) quotes from the third book of Pherecydes as follows: "And Hercules drew his bow at him as if he would shoot, and the Sun bade him give over; so Hercules feared and gave over. And in return the Sun bestowed on him the golden goblet which carried him with his horses, when he set, through the Ocean all night to the east, where the Sun rises. Then Hercules journeyed in that goblet to Erythia. And when he was on the open sea, Ocean, to make trial of him, caused the goblet to heave wildly on the waves. Hercules was about to shoot him with an arrow; and the Ocean was afraid, and bade him give over." Stesichorus described the Sun embarking in a golden goblet that he might cross the ocean in the darkness of night and come to his mother, his wedded wife, and children dear. See Athenaeus, xi. 38, p. 468 E; compare *id.* xi. 16, p. 781 D. The voyage of Hercules in the golden goblet was also related by the early poets Pisander and Panyasis in the poems, both called *Heraclia*, which they devoted to the exploits of the great hero. See Athenaeus, xi. 38, p. 469 D; compare Macrobius, *Saturn.*, v. 21. 16 and 19. Another poet, Mimnermus, supposed that at night the weary Sun slept in a golden bed, which floated across the sea to Ethiopia, where a chariot with fresh horses stood ready for him to mount and resume his daily journey across the sky. See Athenaeus, xi. 39, p. 470 A.

καὶ τὸν βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα τῷ κυνὶ βοηθοῦντα ἀπέκτεινε. Μενοίτης δὲ ἐκεῖ τὰς "Αἰδου βόας θόσκων Γηρυόνη τὸ γεγονὸς ἀπήγγειλεν. ὁ δὲ καταλαβὼν Ἡρακλέα παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἀνθεμοῦντα τὰς βόας ἀπάγοντα, συστησάμενος μάχην τοξευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐνθήμενος τὰς βόας εἰς τὸ δέπας καὶ διαπλεύσας εἰς Ταρτηρῶσόν Ἡλίῳ πάλιν ἀπέδωκε τὸ δέπας.

Διελθὼν δὲ Ἀβδηρίαν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Λιγυστίην<sup>2</sup> ἦλθεν, ἐν ἧ τὰς βόας ἀφηροῦντο Ἰαλεβίων<sup>3</sup> τε καὶ Δέρκυνος οἱ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοί, οὗς κτείνας διὰ Τυρρηνίας ἤει. ἀπὸ Ῥηγίου δὲ εἰς ἀπορρήγνυσι ταῦρος,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀβδηρίαν Heyne: ἀβδηρίαν or ἀνδηρίαν A: Ἰβηρίαν Gale.

<sup>2</sup> Λιγυστίην Gale (compare Diodorus Siculus iv. 19. 4, ἐποίησατο τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Λιγυστικῆς): Λιγύην Heyne, conjecturing Λίγυας: Λιβύην A, J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 340.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰαλεβίων R: ἀλεβίων A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 652, who probably follows Apollodorus.

<sup>2</sup> Abderia, the territory of Abdera, a Phoenician city of southern Spain, not to be confused with the better known Abdera in Thrace. See Strabo, iii. 4. 3, p. 157; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀβδηρα.

<sup>3</sup> Apollodorus has much abridged a famous adventure of Hercules in Liguria. Passing through the country with the herds of Geryon, he was attacked by a great multitude of the warlike natives, who tried to rob him of the cattle. For a time he repelled them with his bow, but his supply of arrows running short he was reduced to great straits; for the ground, being soft earth, afforded no stones to be used as missiles. So he prayed to his father Zeus, and the god in pity rained down stones from the sky; and by picking them up and hurling them at his foes, the hero was able to turn the tables on them. The place where this adventure took place was said to be a plain between Marseilles and the Rhone, which was called the Stony Plain on account of the vast quantity of stones, about as large as a man's hand,

when the herdsman Eurytion came to the help of the dog, Hercules killed him also. But Menoetes, who was there pasturing the kine of Hades, reported to Geryon what had occurred, and he, coming up with Hercules beside the river Anthemus,<sup>1</sup> as he was driving away the kine, joined battle with him and was shot dead. And Hercules, embarking the kine in the goblet and sailing across to Tartessus, gave back the goblet to the Sun.

And passing through Abderia<sup>2</sup> he came to Liguria,<sup>3</sup> where Ialebion and Dercynus, sons of Poseidon, attempted to rob him of the kine, but he killed them<sup>4</sup> and went on his way through Tyrrhenia. But at Rhegium a bull broke away<sup>5</sup>

which were scattered thickly over it. In his play *Prometheus Unbound*, Aeschylus introduced this story in the form of a prediction put in the mouth of Prometheus and addressed to his deliverer Hercules. See Strabo, iv. 1. 7, pp. 182 sq.; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 41; Eustathius, *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes*, 76 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, ii. 231); Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 6; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 66 sq. The Stony Plain is now called the Plaine de la Crau. It "attracts the attention of all travellers between Arles and Marseilles, since it is intersected by the railway that joins those two cities. It forms a wide level area, extending for many square miles, which is covered with round rolled stones from the size of a pebble to that of a man's head. These are supposed to have been brought down from the Alps by the Durance at some early period, when this plain was submerged and formed the bed of what was then a bay of the Mediterranean at the mouth of that river and the Rhone" (H. F. Tozer, *Selections from Strabo*, p. 117).

<sup>4</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 340 sqq., who calls the victims Dercynus and Alebion.

<sup>5</sup> The author clearly derives the name of Rhegium from this incident (*Ρήγιον* from *ἄροπρήγυσσι*). The story of the escape of the bull, or heifer, and the pursuit of it by Hercules was told by Hellanicus. See Dionysius Halicarnasensis,

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καὶ ταχέως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐμπεσὼν καὶ διανη-  
 ξάμενος <εἰς> Σικελίαν, καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν  
 διελθὼν [τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου κληθεῖσαν Ἰταλίαν  
 (Τυρρηνοὶ γὰρ ἰταλὸν τὸν ταῦρον ἐκάλεσαν),]<sup>1</sup>  
 ἦλθεν εἰς πεδίον Ἐρυκος, ὃς ἐβασίλευεν Ἐλύμων.  
 Ἐρυξ δὲ ἦν Ποσειδῶνος παῖς, ὃς τὸν ταῦρον ταῖς  
 ἰδίαις συγκατέμιξεν ἀγέλαις. παραθέμενος οὖν  
 τὰς βόας Ἡρακλῆς Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 ζήτησιν ἠπέιγετο· εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Ἐρυκος  
 ἀγέλαις, λέγοντος οὐ δώσειν ἂν μὴ παλαίσας  
 αὐτοῦ περιγένηται, τρεῖς περιγεγόμενος κατὰ τὴν  
 πάλην ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν ταῦρον λαβὼν μετὰ τῶν  
 ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἴόνιον ἤλαυνε πόντον. ὡς δὲ  
 ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς μυχοὺς τοῦ πόντου, ταῖς βουσὶν  
 οἰστρον ἐνέβαλεν ἢ Ἡρα, καὶ σχίζονται κατὰ  
 τὰς τῆς Θράκης ὑπωρείας· ὁ δὲ διώξας τὰς μὲν  
 συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλησποντον ἤγαγεν, αἱ δὲ  
 ἀπολειφθεῖσαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν ἄγριαι. μόλις δὲ  
 τῶν βοῶν συνελθουσῶν Στρυμόνα μεμψάμενος  
 τὸν ποταμόν, πάλαι τὸ ρεῖθρον πλωτὸν ὄν ἐμ-  
 πλήσας πέτραις ἄπλωτον ἐποίησε, καὶ τὰς βόας

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνου . . . ἐκάλεσαν omitted by Wagner. Heyne proposed to omit these words, together with the preceding καὶ τὴν πλησίον χώραν διελθὼν, and he is followed by Hercher.

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*Antiq. Rom.* i. 35. 2. It is somewhat singular that Apollodorus passes so lightly over the exploits of Hercules in Italy, and in particular that he says nothing about those adventures of his at Rome, to which the Romans attached much significance. For the Italian adventures of the hero, and his sojourn in Rome, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 20-22; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 34 sq., 38-44; Propertius, iv. 9; Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 201 sqq.; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543 sqq. On the popularity of the worship of Hercules in Italy, see

and hastily plunging into the sea swam across to Sicily, and having passed through the neighbouring country since called Italy after it, for the Tyrrhenians called the bull *italus*,<sup>1</sup> came to the plain of Eryx, who reigned over the Elymi.<sup>2</sup> Now Eryx was a son of Poseidon, and he mingled the bull with his own herds. So Hercules entrusted the kine to Hephaestus and hurried away in search of the bull. He found it in the herds of Eryx, and when the king refused to surrender it unless Hercules should beat him in a wrestling bout, Hercules beat him thrice, killed him in the wrestling, and taking the bull drove it with the rest of the herd to the Ionian Sea. But when he came to the creeks of the sea, Hera afflicted the cows with a gadfly, and they dispersed among the skirts of the mountains of Thrace. Hercules went in pursuit, and having caught some, drove them to the Hellespont; but the remainder were thenceforth wild.<sup>3</sup> Having with difficulty collected the cows, Hercules blamed the river Strymon, and whereas it had been navigable before, he made it unnavigable by filling it with rocks; and he

Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 40. 6, who says: "And in many other parts of Italy (besides Rome) precincts are consecrated to the god, and altars are set up both in cities and beside roads; and hardly will you find a place in Italy where the god is not honoured."

<sup>1</sup> Some of the ancients supposed that the name of Italy was derived from the Latin *vitulus*, "a calf." See Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, ii. 1. 9; Dionysius Halicarnasensis, *Antiq. Rom.* i. 35. 2; compare Aulus Gellius, xi. 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> As to Hercules and Eryx, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 23. 2; Pausanias, iii. 16. 4 *sq.*, iv. 36. 4; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 346 *sqq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 866; Virgil, *Aen.* v. 410 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 570.

<sup>3</sup> The story was apparently told to account for the origin of wild cattle in Thrace.

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Εὐρυσθεὶ κομίσας δέδωκεν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὰς κατέ-  
θυσεν Ἡρα.

- 11 Τελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄθλων ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ, μὴ προσδεξάμενος Εὐρυσθεὺς τὸν τε τῶν τοῦ Αὐγείου βοσκημάτων καὶ τὸν τῆς ὕδρας, ἐνδέ-

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<sup>1</sup> This period for the completion of the labours of Hercules is mentioned also by the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* viii. 368) and Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 353 *sq.*), both of whom, however, may have had the present passage of Apollodorus before them. It is possible that the period refers to the eight years' cycle, which figured prominently in the religious calendar of the ancient Greeks; for example, the Pythian games were originally held at intervals of eight years. See Geminus, *Element. Astron.* viii. 25 *sqq.* ed. C. Manitius; Censorinus, *De die natali*, 18. It is to be remembered that the period of service performed by Hercules for Eurystheus was an expiation for the murder of his children (see Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12). Now Cadmus is said to have served Ares for eight years as an expiation for the slaughter of the dragon, the offspring of Ares (see Apollodorus, iii. 4. 2). But in those days, we are told, the "eternal year" comprised eight common years (Apollodorus, *l.c.*). Now Apollo served Admetus for a year as an expiation for the slaughter of the Cyclopes (Apollodorus, iii. 10. 4); but according to Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761), the period of Apollo's service was not one but nine years. In making this statement Servius, or his authority, probably had before him a Greek author, who mentioned an *ἐννεατηρίς* as the period of Apollo's service. But though *ἐννεατηρίς* means literally "nine years," the period, in consequence of the Greek mode of reckoning, was actually equivalent to eight years (compare Celsus, *De die natali*, 18. 4, "*Octaeteris facta, quae tunc enneateris vocitata, quia primus ejus annus nono quoque anno redibat*"). These legends about the servitude of Cadmus, Apollo, and Hercules for eight years, render it probable that in ancient times Greek homicides were banished for eight years, and had during that time to do penance by serving a foreigner. Now this period of eight years was called a "great year" (Censorinus, *De die natali*, 18. 5), and the period of banishment for a homicide was regularly a

conveyed the kine and gave them to Eurystheus, who sacrificed them to Hera.

When the labours had been performed in eight years and a month,<sup>1</sup> Eurystheus ordered Hercules, as an eleventh labour, to fetch golden apples from the

year. See Apollodorus, ii. 8. 3; Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 34-37, *id. Orestes*, 1643-1645; Nicolaus Damascenus, *Frag. 20* (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 369); Hesychius, *s.v. ἀρειαντισμός*; Suidas, *s.v. ἀρειαντία*. Hence it seems probable that, though in later times the period of a homicide's banishment was a single ordinary year, it may formerly have been a "great year," or period of eight ordinary years. It deserves to be noted that any god who had forsworn himself by the Styx had to expiate his fault by silence and fasting for a full year, after which he was banished the company of the gods for nine years (Hesiod, *Theog.* 793-804); and further that any man who partook of human flesh in the rites of Lycaean Zeus was supposed to be turned into a wolf for nine years. See Pausanias, viii. 2; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. These notions point to a nine years' period of expiation, which may have been observed in some places instead of the eight years' period. In the present passage of Apollodorus, the addition of a month to the eight years' period creates a difficulty which I am unable to explain. Ancient mathematicians defined a "great year" as the period at the end of which the sun, moon, and planets again occupy the same positions relatively to each other which they occupied at the beginning; but on the length of the period opinions were much divided. See Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 20. 51 *sq.* Different, apparently, from the "great year" was the "revolving" (*vertens*) or "mundane" (*mundanus*) year, which was the period at the end of which, not only the sun, moon, and planets, but also the so-called fixed stars again occupy the positions relatively to each other which they occupied at the beginning; for the ancients recognized that the so-called fixed stars do move, though their motion is imperceptible to our senses. The length of a "revolving" or "mundane" year was calculated by ancient physicists at fifteen thousand years. See Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*, 7, with the commentary of Macrobius, ii. 11.



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κατον ἐπέταξεν ἄθλον παρ' Ἑσπερίδων χρύσεια μῆλα κομίζειν.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα δὲ ἦν, οὐχ ὡς τινες εἶπον ἐν Λιβύῃ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄτλαντος ἐν Ὑπερβορείοις· ἃ Διὶ <Γῆ> γήμαντι Ἦραν<sup>2</sup> ἔδωρῆσατο. ἐφύλασσε δὲ αὐτὰ δράκων ἀθάνατος, Τυφῶνος καὶ Ἐχίδνης, κεφαλὰς ἔχων ἑκατόν· ἐχρήτο δὲ φωναῖς παντοίαις καὶ ποικίλαις. μετὰ τούτου δὲ Ἑσπερίδες ἐφύλαττον, Αἴγλη Ἐρύθεια Ἑσπερία Ἀρέθουσα.<sup>3</sup> πορευόμενος οὖν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχέδωρον ἦκε. Κύκνος δὲ Ἄρεος καὶ Πυρήνης εἰς μονομαχίαν αὐτὸν προεκαλεῖτο. Ἄρεος δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδικοῦντος καὶ συριστάντος μονομαχίαν, βληθεὶς κεραυνὸς μέσος ἀμφοτέρων διαλύει τὴν

<sup>1</sup> κομίζειν Aegius: κομίσων R.A.

<sup>2</sup> Διὶ <Γῆ> γήμαντι Ἦραν Valckenar (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396): Διὶ γήμαντι Ἦρα A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἑσπερία Ἀρέθουσα Gale, Aegius: ἔστια ἐρέθουσα A.

<sup>1</sup> As to the apples of the Hesperides, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 215 sq.; Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, 394 sqq.; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396 sqq., with the Scholiast on 1396; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 26; Pausanias, v. 11. 6, v. 18. 4, vi. 10. 8; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 3; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 355 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 637 sqq., ix. 190; Hyginus, *Fab.* 30; *id.* *Astronom.* ii. 3; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, pp. 382 sq., in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Kyssehardt; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. (i. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 13 sq., 130 (First Vatican Mythographer, 38; Second Vatican Mythographer, 161). From the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*) we learn that the story of Hercules and the apples of the Hesperides was told by Pherecydes in the second book of his work on the marriage of Hera. The close resemblance which the Scholiast's narrative bears to that of Apollodorus seems to show that here, as in many other places, our author followed Pherecydes. The account given by Pherecydes of the origin of the golden apples is as follows. When Zeus married Hera, the gods brought presents to the bride. Among the rest, Earth brought golden apples, which Hera so much admired that she ordered them to be planted in the garden

Hesperides,<sup>1</sup> for he did not acknowledge the labour of the cattle of Augeas nor that of the hydra. These apples were not, as some have said, in Libya, but on Atlas among the Hyperboreans.<sup>2</sup> They were presented by Earth to Zeus after his marriage with Hera, and guarded by an immortal dragon with a hundred heads, offspring of Typhon and Echidna, which spoke with many and divers sorts of voices. With it the Hesperides also were on guard, to wit, Aegle, Erythia, Hesperia, and Arethusa. So journeying he came to the river Echedorus. And Cycnus, son of Ares and Pyrene, challenged him to single combat. Ares championed the cause of Cycnus and marshalled the combat, but a thunderbolt was hurled between the two and parted the combatants.<sup>3</sup> And going on

of the gods beside Mount Atlas. But, as the daughters of Atlas used to pilfer the golden fruit, she set a huge serpent to guard the tree. Such is the story told, on the authority of Pherecydes, by Eratosthenes, Hyginus (*Astronom.* ii. 3), and the Scholiast on the *Aratea* of Germanicus.

<sup>2</sup> Here Apollodorus departs from the usual version, which placed the gardens of the Hesperides in the far west, not the far north. We have seen that Hercules is said to have gone to the far north to fetch the hind with the golden horns (see above, ii. 5. 3 note); also he is reported to have brought from the land of the Hyperboreans the olive spray which was to form the victor's crown at the Olympic games. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 11 (20) *sqq.*; Pausanias, v. 7. 7, compare *id.* v. 15. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 31, who describes the intervention of Mars (Ares) on the side of his son Cycnus, and the fall of the thunderbolt which parted the combatants; yet he says that Hercules killed Cycnus. This combat, which, according to Apollodorus, ended indecisively, was supposed to have been fought in Macedonia, for the Echedorus was a Macedonian river (Herodotus, vii. 124, 127). Accordingly we must distinguish this contest from another and more famous fight which Hercules fought with another son of Ares, also called Cycnus, near Pagasae in Thessaly. See Apollodorus, ii. 7. 7, with the note. Apparently Hyginus confused the two combats.

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μάχην. βαδίζων δὲ δι' Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ σπεύδων<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἡριδανόν, ἦκε πρὸς νύμφας Διὸς καὶ Θέμιδος. αὐται μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ Νηρέα. συλλαβὼν δὲ αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον καὶ παντοίας ἐναλλάσσοντα μορφὰς ἔδησε, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυσε πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν παρ' αὐτοῦ ποῦ τυγχάνοιεν τὰ μῆλα καὶ αἱ Ἑσπερίδες. μαθὼν δὲ Λιβύην διεξήει. ταύτης ἐβασίλευε παῖς Ποσειδῶνος Ἀνταῖος, ὃς τοὺς ξένους ἀναγκάζων παλαίειν ἀνήρει. τούτῳ παλαίειν ἀναγκαζόμενος Ἡρακλῆς ἀράμενος ἄμμασι<sup>2</sup> μετέωρον κλάσας ἀπέκτεινε· ψαύοντα γὰρ γῆς ἰσχυρότερον<sup>3</sup> συνέβαινε<sup>4</sup> γίνεσθαι, διὸ καὶ Γῆς τινες ἔφασαν τοῦτον εἶναι παῖδα.

Μετὰ Λιβύην δὲ Αἴγυπτον διεξήει.<sup>5</sup> ταύτης

<sup>1</sup> σπεύδων Aegius : φεύγων A.

<sup>2</sup> ἄμμασι R, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A : ἄμμασι A.

<sup>3</sup> ἰσχυρότερον R : ἰσχυρότατον A.

<sup>4</sup> συνέβαινε R, Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A : συνέβη A.

<sup>5</sup> διεξήει Fuber : ἔξηει A.

<sup>1</sup> The meeting of Hercules with the nymphs, and his struggle with Nereus, are related also by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396, citing as his authority Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus also probably follows. The transformations of the reluctant sea-god Nereus in his encounter with Hercules are like those of the reluctant sea-god Proteus in his encounter with Menelaus (Homer, *Od.* iv. 354–570), and those of the reluctant sea-goddess Thetis with her lover Peleus (see below, iii. 13. 5).

<sup>2</sup> As to Hercules and Antaeus, see Pindar, *Isthm.* iv. 52 (87) *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on 52 (87) and 54 (92); Diodorus Siculus, iv. 17. 4; Pausanias, ix. 11. 6; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 21; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, vi. 285 *sqq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 363 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Plato, *Laws*, vii. p. 796 A (whose account agrees almost verbally with that of Apollodorus); Ovid, *Ibis*, 393–395,

foot through Illyria and hastening to the river Eridanus he came to the nymphs, the daughters of Zeus and Themis. They revealed Nereus to him, and Hercules seized him while he slept, and though the god turned himself into all kinds of shapes, the hero bound him and did not release him till he had learned from him where were the apples and the Hesperides.<sup>1</sup> Being informed, he traversed Libya. That country was then ruled by Antaeus, son of Poseidon,<sup>2</sup> who used to kill strangers by forcing them to wrestle. Being forced to wrestle with him, Hercules hugged him, lifted him aloft,<sup>3</sup> broke and killed him; for when he touched earth so it was that he waxed stronger, wherefore some said that he was a son of Earth.

After Libya he traversed Egypt. That country with the Scholia; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; Lucan, *Pharsal.* iv. 588-655; Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 89; Statius, *Theb.* vi. 893 *sqq.*; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* vi. 869 (894); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 19, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 55; Second Vatican Mythographer, 164). According to Pindar, the truculent giant used to roof the temple of his sire Poseidon with the skulls of his victims. The fable of his regaining strength through contact with his mother Earth is dwelt on by Lucan with his usual tedious prolixity. It is briefly alluded to by Ovid, Juvenal, and Statius. Antaeus is said to have reigned in western Morocco, on the Atlantic coast. Here a hillock was pointed out as his tomb, and the natives believed that the removal of soil from the hillock would be immediately followed by rain, which would not cease till the earth was replaced. See Mela, iii. 106. Sertorius is said to have excavated the supposed tomb and to have found a skeleton sixty cubits long. See Plutarch, *Sertorius*, 9; Strabo, xvii. 3. 8, p. 829.

<sup>3</sup> More literally, "lifted him aloft with hugs." For this technical term (*ἄμμα*) applied to a wrestler's hug, see Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus*, 23, and *Alcibiades*, 2.

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ἑβασίλευε Βούσιρις Ποσειδῶνος παῖς καὶ Λυσια-  
νάσσης τῆς Ἐπάφου. οὗτος τοὺς ξένους ἔθυεν  
ἐπὶ βωμῷ Διὸς κατὰ τι λόγιον· ἐννέα γὰρ ἔτη  
ἀφορία τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλαβε, Φρασίος<sup>1</sup> δὲ  
ἔλθων ἐκ Κύπρου, μάντις τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἔφη

<sup>1</sup> φράσιος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller: φράγιος E:  
Θράσιος Aegius, Bekker, Hercher. Compare Ovid, *Ars  
Amat.* i. 649 sq. (*Thrasius*); Hyginus, *Fab.* 56 (*Thasius*).

<sup>1</sup> For Hercules and Busiris, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 18. 1, iv. 27. 2 sq.; Plutarch, *Parallela*, 38; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, ii. 367 sq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 182 sq.; *id.*, *Ars Amat.* i. 647-652; Scholia on Ovid, *Ibis*, 397 (p. 72, ed. R. Ellis); Hyginus, *Fab.* 31 and 56; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300 and *Georg.* iii. 5; Philargyrius, on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 5; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xii. 155. Ovid, with his Scholiasts, Hyginus and Philargyrius, like Apollodorus, allege a nine or eight years' dearth or drought as the cause of the human sacrifices instituted by Busiris. Their account may be derived from Pherecydes, who is the authority cited by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*l.c.*). Hyginus (*Fab.* 56) adds that the seer Phrasius, who advised the sacrifice, was a brother of Pygmalion. Herodotus, without mentioning Busiris, scouts the story on the ground that human sacrifices were utterly alien to the spirit of Egyptian religion (Herodotus, ii. 45). Isocrates also discredited the tradition, in so far as it relates to Hercules, because Hercules was four generations younger, and Busiris more than two hundred years older, than Perseus. See Isocrates, *Busiris*, 15. Yet there are grounds for thinking that the Greek tradition was substantially correct. For Manetho, our highest ancient authority, definitely affirmed that in the city of Ilithyia it was customary to burn alive "Typhonian men" and to scatter their ashes by means of winnowing fans (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 73). These "Typhonian men" were red-haired, because Typhon, the Egyptian embodiment of evil, was also red-haired (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 30 and 33). But red-haired men would commonly be foreigners, in contrast to the black-haired natives of Egypt; and it was just foreigners who, according to Greek tradition,

was then ruled by Busiris,<sup>1</sup> a son of Poseidon by Lysianassa, daughter of Epaphus. This Busiris used to sacrifice strangers on an altar of Zeus in accordance with a certain oracle. For Egypt was visited with dearth for nine years, and Phrasius, a learned seer who had come from Cyprus, said that the dearth

were chosen as victims. Diodorus Siculus points this out (i. 88. 5) in confirmation of the Greek tradition, and he tells us that the red-haired men were sacrificed at the grave of Osiris, though this statement may be an inference from his etymology of the name Busiris, which he explains to mean "grave of Osiris." The etymology is correct, Busiris being a Greek rendering of the Egyptian *bu-As-iri*, "place of Osiris." See A. Wiedemann, *Herodots Zweites Buch* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 213. Porphyry informs us, on the authority of Manetho, that the Egyptian custom of sacrificing human beings at the City of the Sun was suppressed by Amosis (Amasis), who ordered waxen effigies to be substituted for the victims. He adds that the human victims used to be examined just like calves for the sacrifice, and that they were sealed in token of their fitness for the altar. See Porphyry, *De abstinentia*, iii. 35. Sextus Empiricus even speaks of human sacrifices in Egypt as if they were practised down to his own time, which was about 200 A.D. See Sextus Empiricus, p. 173, ed. Bekker. Seleucus wrote a special treatise on human sacrifices in Egypt (Athenaeus, iv. 72, p. 172 D). In view of these facts, the Greek tradition that the sacrifices were offered in order to restore the fertility of the land or to procure rain after a long drought, and that on one occasion the king himself was the victim, may be not without significance. For kings or chiefs have been often sacrificed under similar circumstances (see Apollodorus, iii. 5. 1; *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. ii. 97 sqq.; *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 344 sqq., 352 sqq.); and in ancient Egypt the rulers are definitely said to have been held responsible for the failure of the crops (Ammianus Marcellinus, xxviii. 5. 14); hence it would not be surprising if in extreme cases they were put to death. Busiris was the theme of a Satyric play by Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 452 sq.

## APOLLODORUS

τὴν ἀφορίαν<sup>1</sup> παύσασθαι ἐὰν ξένον ἄνδρα τῷ Διὶ σφάξωσι κατ' ἔτος. Βούσιρις δὲ ἐκείνῳ πρῶτον σφάξας τὸν μάντιν τοὺς κατιόντας ξένους ἔσφαζε. συλληφθεὶς οὖν καὶ Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς βωμοῖς προσέφεροτο τὰ δὲ δεσμὰ διαρρήξας τὸν τε Βούσιριν καὶ τὸν ἐκείνου παῖδα Ἀμφιδάμαντα ἀπέκτεινε.

Διεξιῶν δὲ Ἀσίαν<sup>2</sup> Θερμυδραῖς, Λινδίων<sup>3</sup> λιμένι, προσίσχει. καὶ βοηλάτου τινὸς λύσας τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμάξης εὐωχεῖτο θύσας. ὁ δὲ βοηλάτης βοηθεῖν ἑαυτῷ μὴ δυνάμενος στὰς ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους κατηρᾶτο. διὸ καὶ νῦν, ἐπειδὴν θύωσιν Ἡρακλεῖ, μετὰ καταρῶν τοῦτο πράττουσι.

<sup>1</sup> We should perhaps read τὴν ἀφορίαν ἢν παύσασθαι.

<sup>2</sup> ἀσίαν ER: ἀσίας A.

<sup>3</sup> λινδίων ER: λωδίων A.

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<sup>1</sup> The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 1396) calls him Iphidamas, and adds "the herald Chalbes and the attendants" to the list of those slain by Hercules.

<sup>2</sup> Thermydra is the form of the name given by Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.*). In his account of this incident Tzetzes calls the harbour Thermydron (*Chiliades*, ii. 385). Lindus was one of the chief cities of Rhodes.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Conon, *Narrat.* 11; Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 24; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 385 *sqq.*; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 21. According to all these writers except Tzetzes (who clearly follows Apollodorus), Hercules's victim in this affair was not a waggoner, but a ploughman engaged in the act of ploughing; Philostratus names him Thiodamus, and adds: "Hence a ploughing ox is sacrificed to Hercules, and they begin the sacrifice with curses such as, I suppose, the husbandman then made use of; and Hercules is pleased and blesses the Lindians in return for their curses." According to Lactantius, it was a pair of oxen that was sacrificed, and the altar at which the sacrifice took place bore the name of *bouzygos*, that is, "yoke of oxen." Hence it seems probable

would cease if they slaughtered a stranger man in honour of Zeus every year. Busiris began by slaughtering the seer himself and continued to slaughter the strangers who landed. So Hercules also was seized and haled to the altars, but he burst his bonds and slew both Busiris and his son Amphidamas.<sup>1</sup>

And traversing Asia he put in to Thermydrae, the harbour of the Lindians.<sup>2</sup> And having loosed one of the bullocks from the cart of a cowherd, he sacrificed it and feasted. But the cowherd, unable to protect himself, stood on a certain mountain and cursed. Wherefore to this day, when they sacrifice to Hercules, they do it with curses.<sup>3</sup>

that the sacrifice which the story purported to explain was offered at the time of ploughing in order to ensure a blessing on the ploughman's labours. This is confirmed by the ritual of the sacred ploughing observed at Eleusis, where members of the old priestly family of the *Bouzygai* or Ox-yokers uttered many curses as they guided the plough down the furrows of the Rarian Plain. See *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.v. *Βουζύγαι*, p. 206, lines 47 sqq.; *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. Im. Bekker, i. 221; Hesychius, s.v. *Βουζύγαι*; *Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. E. L. Leutsch und F. G. Schneidewin, i. 388; Scholiast on Sophocles, *Antigone*, 255; Plutarch, *Praecepta Conjugalia*, 42. Compare J. Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 136 sq.; *The Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 108 sq. The Greeks seem to have deemed curses of special efficacy to promote the fertility of the ground; for we are told that when a Greek sowed cummin he was expected to utter imprecations or the crop would not turn out well. See Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum*, vii. 3. 3, ix. 8. 8; Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* vii. 2. 3; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 120. Roman writers mention a like custom observed by the sowers of rue and basil. See Palladius, *De re rustica*, iv. 9; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xix. 120. As to the beneficent effect of curses, when properly directed, see further *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, i. 278 sqq.



## APOLLODORUS

Παριῶν δὲ Ἀραβίαν Ἡμαθίωνα κτείνει παῖδα  
 Τιθωνοῦ. καὶ διὰ τῆς Λιβύης πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἕξω θάλασσαν παρ' Ἡλίου<sup>1</sup> τὸ δέπας παραλαμ-  
 βάνει.<sup>2</sup> καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἠπειρον τὴν  
 ἀντικρὺ κατετόξευσεν ἐπὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὸν  
 ἐσθίοντα τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἦπαρ ἀετόν, ὄντα  
 Ἐχίδνης καὶ Τυφῶνος· καὶ τὸν Προμηθεά ἔλυσε,  
 δεσμὸν ἐλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας, καὶ παρέσχε

<sup>1</sup> παρ' Ἡλίου C. Robert, *De Apollodori Bibliotheca*, pp. 47 sq. (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396): κατακλεῖ οὐδ' Α.

<sup>2</sup> παραλαμβάνει Frazer: καταλαμβάνει MSS., Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: λαμβάνει Hercher. The verb καταλαμβάνειν means to seize or catch, generally with the implication of force or violence. It cannot mean to receive peaceably as a favour, which is the sense required in the present passage. Thus the scribes have twice blundered over the preposition παρὰ in this sentence (κατακλεῖ, καταλαμβάνει).

<sup>1</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 369 sq., who as usual follows Apollodorus. According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 27. 3), after Hercules had slain Busiris, he ascended the Nile to Ethiopia and there slew Emathion, king of Ethiopia.

<sup>2</sup> As to Hercules and Prometheus, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 15. 2; Pausanias, v. 11. 6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 370 sq.; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1248, iv. 1396; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 15; *id. Fab.* 31, 54, and 144; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42. The Scholiast on Apollonius (ii. 1248) agrees with Apollodorus as to the parentage of the eagle which preyed on Prometheus, and he cites as his authority Pherecydes; hence we may surmise that Apollodorus is following the same author in the present passage. The time during which Prometheus suffered on the Caucasus was said by Aeschylus to be thirty thousand years (Hyginus, *Astron.* ii. 15); but Hyginus, though he reports this in one passage, elsewhere reduces the term of suffering to thirty years (*Fab.* 54 and 144).

<sup>3</sup> The reference seems to be to the crown of olive which Hercules brought from the land of the Hyperboreans and

And passing by Arabia he slew Emathion, son of Tithonus,<sup>1</sup> and journeying through Libya to the outer sea he received the goblet from the Sun. And having crossed to the opposite mainland he shot on the Caucasus the eagle, offspring of Echidna and Typhon, that was devouring the liver of Prometheus, and he released Prometheus,<sup>2</sup> after choosing for himself the bond of olive,<sup>3</sup> and to Zeus he presented

instituted as the badge of victory in the Olympic games. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 11 (20) *sqq.*; Pausanias, v. 7. 7. The ancients had a curious notion that the custom of wearing crowns or garlands on the head and rings on the fingers was a memorial of the shackles once worn for their sake by their great benefactor Prometheus among the rocks and snows of the Caucasus. In order that the will of Zeus, who had sworn never to release Prometheus, might not be frustrated by the entire liberation of his prisoner from his chains, Prometheus on obtaining his freedom was ordered to wear on his finger a ring made out of his iron fetters and of the rock to which he had been chained; hence, in memory of their saviour's sufferings, men have worn rings ever since. The practice of wearing crowns or garlands was explained by some people in the same way. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 15; Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 42; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvii. 2; Isidore, *Origines*, xix. 32. 1. According to one version of the legend, the crown which the sufferer on regaining his liberty was doomed to wear was a crown of willow; and the Carians, who used to crown their brows with branches of willow, explained that they did so in imitation of Prometheus. See Athenaeus, xv. 11-13, pp. 671 E-673 B. In the present passage of Apollodorus, if the text is correct, Hercules, as the deliverer of Prometheus, is obliged to bind himself vicariously for the prisoner whom he has released; and he chooses to do so with his favourite olive. Similarly he has to find a substitute to die instead of Prometheus, and he discovers the substitute in Chiron. As to the substitution of Chiron for Prometheus, see Apollodorus, ii. 5. 4. It is remarkable that, though Prometheus was supposed to have attained to immortality and to be the great benefactor, and even the creator, of mankind, he appears not to have been worshipped by the Greeks; Lucian says that nowhere were temples of Prometheus to be seen (*Prometheus*, 14).

## APOLLODORUS

τῷ Διὶ Χείρωνα θνήσκειν ἀθάνατον<sup>1</sup> ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα.

Ὡς δὲ ἦκεν εἰς Ἑπευβορέους πρὸς Ἄτλαντα, εἰπόντος Προμηθέως τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ μῆλα μὴ πορεύεσθαι, διαδεξάμενον δὲ Ἄτλαντος τὸν πόλον ἀποστέλλειν ἐκείνον, πεισθεὶς διεδέξατο. Ἄτλας δὲ δρεψάμενος<sup>2</sup> παρ' Ἐσπερίδων τρία μῆλα ἦκε πρὸς Ἡρακλέα. καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τὸν πόλον ἔχειν<sup>3</sup> . . . καὶ σπεύραν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς θέλειν ποιήσασθαι. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Ἄτλας, ἐπὶ γῆς καταθεὶς τὰ μῆλα τὸν πόλον διεδέξατο. καὶ οὕτως ἀνελόμενος αὐτὰ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπηλλάττετο. ἔνιοι δὲ φασιν οὐ παρὰ Ἄτλαντος αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν δρέψασθαι τὰ μῆλα, κτείναντα τὸν φρουροῦντα ὄφιν. κομίσας δὲ τὰ μῆλα Εὐρυσθεῖ ἔδωκεν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν Ἡρακλεῖ

<sup>1</sup> ἀθάνατον A, but wanting in E and omitted by Wagner. Gale proposed to read Χείρωνα ἀθάνατον <ὄντα> θνήσκειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα. Retaining the MS. order of the words we might read θνήσκειν ἀθάνατον <ὄντα> ἀντ' αὐτοῦ θέλοντα. The accumulation of participles (ὄντα—θέλοντα) is awkward but quite in the manner of Apollodorus.

<sup>2</sup> For δρεψάμενος we should perhaps read δεξάμενος. For δρέπτεσθαι means "to pluck from a tree," not "to receive from a person." The verb is used correctly by Apollodorus a few lines below.

<sup>3</sup> Gale pointed out that there is here a gap in the text of Apollodorus, which can be supplied from the following passage of a scholium on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1396: τὰ μὲν μῆλα αὐτὸς φησὶν ἀποιεῖν Εὐρυσθεῖ, τὸν δ' οὐρανὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνον ἀνέχειν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑποσχόμενος, δόλφ ἀντεπέθηκεν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἄτλαντι. ἦν γὰρ εἰπὼν αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς ὑποθέμενος, κελείειν δεξασθαι τὸν οὐρανόν,

Chiron, who, though immortal, consented to die in his stead.

Now Prometheus had told Hercules not to go himself after the apples but to send Atlas, first relieving him of the burden of the sphere; so when he was come to Atlas in the land of the Hyperboreans, he took the advice and relieved Atlas. But when Atlas had received three apples from the Hesperides, he came to Hercules, and not wishing to support the sphere <he said that he would himself carry the apples to Eurystheus, and bade Hercules hold up the sky in his stead. Hercules promised to do so, but succeeded by craft in putting it on Atlas instead. For at the advice of Prometheus he begged Atlas to hold up the sky till he should><sup>1</sup> put a pad on his head. When Atlas heard that, he laid the apples down on the ground and took the sphere from Hercules. And so Hercules picked up the apples and departed. But some say that he did not get them from Atlas, but that he plucked the apples himself after killing the guardian snake. And having brought the apples he gave them to Eurystheus. But he, on receiving

<sup>1</sup> The passage in angular brackets is wanting in the manuscripts of Apollodorus, but is restored from the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iv. 1396), who quotes as his authority Pherecydes, the writer here seemingly followed by Apollodorus. See the Critical Note. The story of the contest of wits between Hercules and Atlas is represented in one of the extant metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which were seen and described by Pausanias (v. 10. 9). See my note on Pausanias (vol. iii. pp. 524 *sq.*).

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ἔως οὐ σπείραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ποιήσεται. In this passage I read ἀνέχειν and σπείραν for ἔχειν and πήραν, which appear to be the readings of the MSS. In the parallel passage of Pausanias (v. 11. 5) we read of οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν Ἀτλας ἀνέχων.

## APOLLODORUS

ἔδωρήσατο· παρ' οὐ λαβοῦσα Ἀθηναῖα πάλιν αὐτὰ ἀπεκόμισεν· ὅσιον γὰρ οὐκ ἦν αὐτὰ τεθῆναι πού.  
 12 Δωδέκατον ἄθλον ἔπετάγη Κέρβερον ἐξ Ἄιδου κομίζειν. εἶχε δὲ οὗτος τρεῖς μὲν κυνῶν κεφαλᾶς, τὴν δὲ οὐρὰν δράκοντος, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ νότου παντοίων εἶχεν ὄφρων κεφαλᾶς. μέλλων οὖν ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἀπιέναι ἦλθε πρὸς Εὐμόλπου εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, βουλόμενος μνηθῆναι [ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐξὸν ξένοις τότε μνεῖσθαι, ἐπειδήπερ θετὸς<sup>1</sup> Πυλίου παῖς γενόμενος ἐμνεῖτο]. μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ ἰδεῖν τὰ μυστήρια ἐπέπερ οὐκ ἦν ἠγνισμένος τὸν Κενταύρων<sup>2</sup> φόνον, ἀγνισθεὶς ὑπὸ Εὐμόλπου τότε ἐμνήθη. καὶ παραγενόμενος ἐπὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, οὐ

<sup>1</sup> θετὸς R: θέστιος A.

<sup>2</sup> κενταύρων E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368: κενταύρου A.

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<sup>1</sup> As to Hercules and Cerberus, see Homer, *Il.* viii. 366 *sqq.*, *Od.* xi. 623 *sqq.*; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* v. 56 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 23 *sqq.*, 1277 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 1, iv. 26. 1; Pausanias, ii. 31. 6, ii. 35. 10, iii. 18. 13, iii. 25. 5 *sq.*, v. 26. 7, ix. 34. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 388-405 (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 410 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 859 *sqq.*, *Hercules furens*, 50 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 20 (First Vatican Mythographer, 57). Ancient writers differ as to the number of Cerberus's heads. Hesiod assigned him fifty (*Theog.* 311 *sq.*); Pindar raised the number to a hundred (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368), a liberal estimate which was accepted by Tzetzes in one place (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 699) and by Horace in another (*Odes*, ii. 13. 34). Others reduced the number to three. See Sophocles, *Trachinias*, 1098; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 24 and 1277; Pausanias, iii. 25. 6; Horace, *Odes*, ii. 19. 29 *sqq.*, iii. 11. 17 *sqq.*; Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 483, *Aen.* vi. 417 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 451 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 151; Seneca, *Agamemnon*, 62, *Hercules furens*, 783 *sq.* Apollodorus apparently seeks to reconcile

them, bestowed them on Hercules, from whom Athena got them and conveyed them back again; for it was not lawful that they should be laid down anywhere.

A twelfth labour imposed on Hercules was to bring Cerberus from Hades.<sup>1</sup> Now this Cerberus had three heads of dogs, the tail of a dragon, and on his back the heads of all sorts of snakes. When Hercules was about to depart to fetch him, he went to Eumolpus at Eleusis, wishing to be initiated. However it was not then lawful for foreigners to be initiated: since he proposed to be initiated as the adoptive son of Pylus. But not being able to see the mysteries because he had not been cleansed of the slaughter of the centaurs, he was cleansed by Eumolpus and then initiated.<sup>2</sup> And having come to Taenarum in Laconia,

these contradictions, and he is followed as usual by Tzetzes (*Chiliades*, ii. 390 *sqq.*), who, however, at the same time speaks of Cerberus as fifty-headed. The whole of the present passage of Apollodorus, from the description of Cerberus down to Hercules's slaughter of one of the kind of Hades, is quoted, with a few small variations, by a Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368. See Dindorf's edition of the Scholia, vol. i. p. 287. The quotation is omitted by Bekker in his edition of the Scholia (p. 233).

<sup>2</sup> As to the initiation of Hercules at Eleusis, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 1; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 394. According to Diodorus, the rites were performed on this occasion by Musaeus, son of Orpheus. Elsewhere (iv. 14. 3) the same writer says that Demeter instituted the lesser Eleusinian mysteries in honour of Hercules for the purpose of purifying him after his slaughter of the centaurs. The statement that Pylus acted as adoptive father to Hercules at his initiation is repeated by Plutarch (*Theseus*, 33), who mentions that before Castor and Pollux were initiated at Athens they were in like manner adopted by Aphidnus. Herodotus says (viii. 65) that any Greek who pleased might be initiated at Eleusis. The initiation of Hercules is represented in ancient reliefs. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 425 *sqq.*

## APOLLODORUS

τῆς "Αιδου<sup>1</sup> καταβάσεως τὸ στόμιόν ἐστι, διὰ τούτου κατῆι.<sup>2</sup> ὀπηνίκα δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν αἰ ψυχαί, χωρὶς Μελεάγρου καὶ Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνας ἔφυγον. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Γοργόνα τὸ ξίφος ὡς ζῶσαν ἔλκει, καὶ παρὰ Ἑρμοῦ μανθάνει ὅτι κενὸν εἶδωλόν ἐστι. πλησίον δὲ τῶν "Αιδου πυλῶν γενόμενος Θησέα εὔρε καὶ Πειρίθου τὸν Περσεφόνης μνηστευόμενον γάμον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δεθέντα. θεασάμενοι δὲ Ἑρακλέα τὰς χεῖρας ᾤρεγον ὡς ἀναστησόμενοι διὰ τῆς ἐκείνου βίας. ὁ δὲ Θησέα μὲν λαβόμενος τῆς χειρὸς ἤγειρε, Πειρίθου δὲ ἀναστήσαι βουλόμενος τῆς γῆς

<sup>1</sup> τῆς "Αιδου καταβάσεως EA, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 368 : τῆς εἰς "Αιδου καταβάσεως Heyne (conjecture), Westermann, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> κατῆι Scholiast on Homer, viii. 368, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher : ἀπῆι A : ἐπῆι E, Wagner.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 23 *sqq.*; Pausanias, xxv. 5; Seneca, *Hercules furens*, 807 *sqq.* Sophocles seems to have written a Satyric drama on the descent of Hercules into the infernal regions at Taenarum. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. O. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 167 *sq.* According to another account, Hercules descended, not at Taenarum but at the Acherusian Chersonese, near Heraclea Pontica on the Black Sea. The marks of the descent were there pointed out to a great depth. See Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vi. 2. 2.

<sup>2</sup> So Bacchylides (*Epinic.* v. 71 *sqq.*) represents Hercules in Hades drawing his bow against the ghost of Meleager in shining armour, who reminds the hero that there is nothing to fear from the souls of the dead; so, too, Virgil (*Aen.* vi. 290 *sqq.*) describes Aeneas in Hades drawing his sword on the Gorgons and Harpies, till the Sibyl tells him that they are mere fitting empty shades. Apollodorus more correctly speaks of the ghost of only one Gorgon (Medusa), because of the three Gorgons she alone was mortal. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 2. Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 634 *sq.*

<sup>3</sup> On Theseus and Pirithous in hell, see Apollodorus,

where is the mouth of the descent to Hades, he descended through it.<sup>1</sup> But when the souls saw him, they fled, save Meleager and the Gorgon Medusa. And Hercules drew his sword against the Gorgon, as if she were alive, but he learned from Hermes that she was an empty phantom.<sup>2</sup> And being come near to the gates of Hades he found Theseus and Pirithous,<sup>3</sup> him who wooed Persephone in wedlock and was therefore bound fast. And when they beheld Hercules, they stretched out their hands as if they should be raised from the dead by his might. And Theseus, indeed, he took by the hand and raised up, but when he would have brought up

*Epitome*, i. 23 sq.; Homer, *Od.* xi. 631; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 619; Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 101 sqq., with the Scholiast on 101; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 26. 1, iv. 63. 4 sq.; Pausanias, i. 17. 4, ix. 31. 5, x. 29. 9; Apostolius, *Cent.* iii. 36; Suidas, s.v. *Μελαγρός*; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1368; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 392 sqq., 617 sq.; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 4. 79 sq., iv. 7. 27 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 79; Aulus Gellius, x. 16. 13; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 617; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 18 (First Vatican Mythographer, 48). The general opinion seems to have been that Hercules rescued Theseus, but that he could not save Pirithous. Others, however, alleged that he brought up both from the dead (Hyginus, *l.c.*); others again affirmed that he brought up neither (Diodorus Siculus, iv. 63. 5). A dull rationalistic version of the romantic story converted Hades into a king of the Molossians or Thesprotians, named Aidoneus, who had a wife Persephone, a daughter Cora, and a dog Cerberus, which he set to worry his daughter's suitors, promising to give her in marriage to him who could master the ferocious animal. Discovering that Theseus and Pirithous were come not to woo but to steal his daughter, he arrested them. The dog made short work of Pirithous, but Theseus was kept in durance till the king consented to release him at the intercession of Hercules. See Plutarch, *Theseus*, 31. 4 and 35. 1 sq.; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* iv. 5; Pausanias, i. 17. 4, i. 18. 4, ii. 22. 6, iii. 18. 5; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 406 sqq.



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κινουμένης ἀφήκεν. ἀπεκύλισε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄσκα-  
λάφου πέτρον. βουλόμενος δὲ αἶμα ταῖς ψυχαῖς  
παρασχέσθαι, μίαν τῶν Ἄιδου βοῶν ἀπέσφαξεν.  
ὁ δὲ νέμων αὐτὰς Μενοίτης ὁ Κεθωνύμου<sup>1</sup> προ-  
καλεσόμενος<sup>2</sup> εἰς πάλην Ἡρακλέα, ληφθεὶς  
μέσος<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς κατεαγεῖς<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ Περσε-  
φόνης παρητήθη. αἰτοῦντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Πλούτωνα  
τὸν Κέρβερον, ἐπέταξεν ὁ Πλούτων ἄγειν χωρὶς  
ᾧν εἶχεν ὄπλων κρατοῦντα. ὁ δὲ εὐρῶν αὐτὸν  
ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ Ἀχέροντος, τῷ τε θώρακι  
συμπεφραγμένος καὶ τῇ λεοντῇ συσκευασθεῖς,  
περιβαλὼν τῇ κεφαλῇ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἀνήκε<sup>5</sup>  
κρατῶν καὶ ἄγχων τὸ θηρίον, ἕως ἔπεισε, καίπερ  
δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐρὰν δράκοντος.  
συλλαβῶν οὖν αὐτὸν ἤκε διὰ Τροιζήνος ποιησά-  
μενος τὴν ἀνάβασιν. Ἀσκάλαφον μὲν οὖν  
Δημήτηρ ἐποίησεν ὄπλον,<sup>6</sup> Ἡρακλῆς δὲ Εὐρύσθει  
δείξας τὸν Κέρβερον πάλιν ἐκόμισεν εἰς Ἄιδου.

VI. Μετὰ δὲ τοὺς ἄθλους Ἡρακλῆς ἀφικόμενος  
εἰς Θήβας Μεγάραν μὲν ἔδωκεν Ἰολάφω, αὐτὸς δὲ  
γῆμαι θέλων ἐπυρθάνετο Εὐρύτου Οἰχαλίας  
δυναστίην ἄθλον προτεθεικέναι<sup>7</sup> τὸν Ἰόλης τῆς  
θυγατρὸς γάμου τῷ νικήσαντι τοξικῇ<sup>8</sup> αὐτὸν τε

<sup>1</sup> Κεθωνύμου Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 397, Aegius : κυθωνύμου E. <sup>2</sup> προκαλεσόμενος Faber : προσκαλεσόμενος EA.

<sup>3</sup> μέσος Faber : μέσον EA. <sup>4</sup> κατεαγεῖς E : κατεάξας A.

<sup>5</sup> οὐκ ἀνήκε . . . δράκοντος E : οὐκ ἀνήκε, καίπερ δακνόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν οὐρὰν δράκοντος, κρατῶν ἐκ τοῦ τραχήλου καὶ ἄγχων τὸ θηρίον ἔπεισε A. <sup>6</sup> ὄπλον Aegius : ὄνον EA.

<sup>7</sup> προτεθεικέναι E : προτεθῆναι RR<sup>a</sup>B : προτεθῆναι C.

<sup>8</sup> τοξικῇ E : τοξικὴν A.

<sup>1</sup> See Apollodorus, i. 5. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 396 sqq., who calls the herdsman Menoetius.

Pirithous, the earth quaked and he let go. And he rolled away also the stone of Ascalaphus.<sup>1</sup> And wishing to provide the souls with blood, he slaughtered one of the kine of Hades. But Menoetes, son of Ceuthonymus, who tended the kine, challenged Hercules to wrestle, and, being seized round the middle, had his ribs broken;<sup>2</sup> howbeit, he was let off at the request of Persephone. When Hercules asked Pluto for Cerberus, Pluto ordered him to take the animal provided he mastered him without the use of the weapons which he carried. Hercules found him at the gates of Acheron, and, cased in his cuirass and covered by the lion's skin, he flung his arms round the head of the brute, and though the dragon in its tail bit him, he never relaxed his grip and pressure till it yielded.<sup>3</sup> So he carried it off and ascended through Troezen.<sup>4</sup> But Demeter turned Ascalaphus into a short-eared owl,<sup>5</sup> and Hercules, after showing Cerberus to Eurystheus, carried him back to Hades.

VI. After his labours Hercules went to Thebes and gave Megara to Iolaus,<sup>6</sup> and, wishing himself to wed, he ascertained that Eurytus, prince of Oechalia, had proposed the hand of his daughter Iole as a prize to him who should vanquish himself and his

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "till he persuaded (it)."

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 31. 2. According to others, the ascent of Hercules with Cerberus took place at Hermione (Pausanias, ii. 35. 10) or on Mount Laphystius in Boeotia (Pausanias, ix. 34. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 538 *sqq.* As to the short-eared owl (*ōros*), see D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, pp. 200 *sq.*

<sup>6</sup> With this and what follows down to the adventure with Syleus, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31 (who seems to be following the same authority as Apollodorus); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 412-435.

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καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῷ ὑπάρχοντας. ἀφικόμενος οὖν εἰς Οἰχαλίαν καὶ τῇ τοξικῇ κρείττων αὐτῶν γενόμενος οὐκ ἔτυχε τοῦ γάμου, Ἴφίτου μὲν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τῶν παίδων λέγοντος διδόναι τῷ Ἑρακλεῖ τὴν Ἴολην, Εὐρύτου δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπαγορευόντων καὶ δεδοικέναι λεγόντων μὴ τεκνοποιησάμενος τὰ γεννηθησόμενα<sup>1</sup> πάλιν<sup>2</sup> ἀποκτείνῃ. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ κλαπείσων ἐξ Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ Αὐτολύκου βοῶν, Εὐρυτος μὲν ἐνόμιζεν ὑφ' Ἑρακλέους γεγονέναι τοῦτο, Ἴφίτος δὲ ἀπιστῶν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Ἑρακλέα, καὶ συντυχῶν ἤκουτι ἐκ Φερῶν<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ, σεσωκότι τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν Ἀλκηστιν Ἀδμήτῳ, παρακαλεῖ συζητῆσαι τὰς βόας. Ἑρακλῆς δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ ξενίζει μὲν αὐτόν, μανεῖς δὲ αὐθις ἀπὸ τῶν Τυρυνθίων ἔρριψεν αὐτὸν τειχῶν. καθαρθῆναι δὲ θέλων τὸν φόνον ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς Νηλέα Πυλίων ἦν οὗτος δυνάστης. ἀπωσαμένου δὲ Νηλέως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Εὐρυτον φιλίαν, εἰς Ἀμύκλας παραγενόμενος ὑπὸ Δηϊφόβου τοῦ Ἴππολύτου καθαίρεται. κατασχεθεῖς δὲ δεινῇ νόσῳ διὰ τὸν Ἴφίτου φόνον, εἰς Δελφοὺς παραγενόμενος ἀπαλ-

<sup>1</sup> γεννηθησόμενα E: γενησόμενα R: γεννησόμενα A.

<sup>2</sup> Φερῶν R: φορῶν A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392; Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 260 *sqq.*, with the Scholiast on 266; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 545.

<sup>2</sup> As he had killed the children he had by Megara. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 12.

<sup>3</sup> The story is told somewhat differently by Homer (*Od.* xxi. 23-30). According to him, Iphitus had lost twelve mares (not oxen) and came in search of them to Hercules, who murdered him in his house and kept the mares. A

sons in archery.<sup>1</sup> So he came to Oechalia, and though he proved himself better than them at archery, yet he did not get the bride; for while Iphitus, the elder of Eurytus's sons, said that Iole should be given to Hercules, Eurytus and the others refused, and said they feared that, if he got children, he would again kill his offspring.<sup>2</sup> Not long after, some cattle were stolen from Euboea by Autolycus, and Eurytus supposed that it was done by Hercules; but Iphitus did not believe it and went to Hercules. And meeting him, as he came from Pherae after saving the dead Alcestis for Admetus, he invited him to seek the kine with him. Hercules promised to do so and entertained him; but going mad again he threw him from the walls of Tiryns.<sup>3</sup> Wishing to be purified of the murder he repaired to Neleus, who was prince of the Pylians. And when Neleus rejected his request on the score of his friendship with Eurytus, he went to Amyclae and was purified by Deiphobus, son of Hippolytus.<sup>4</sup> But being afflicted with a dire disease on account of the murder of Iphitus he went to Delphi and inquired

Scholiast on Homer (*Od.* xxi. 22) says that the mares had been stolen by Autolycus and sold by him to Hercules. Another Scholiast on the same passage of Homer, who refers to Pherecydes as his authority, says that Hercules treacherously lured Iphitus to the top of the wall, then hurled him down. As to the quest of the mares and the murder of Iphitus, see also Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 270-273; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 2 *sq.* (who says that Hercules himself stole the mares out of spite at Eurytus); J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 417-423; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392. Apollodorus seems to be the only writer who substitutes cattle for mares in this story.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 4 *sq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392.

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λαγὴν ἐπυνθάνετο τῆς νόσου. μὴ χρησιμφοδούσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς Πυθίας τὸν τε ναὸν συλᾶν ἤθελε, καὶ τὸν τρίποδα βαστάσας κατασκευάζειν<sup>1</sup> μαντεῖον ἴδιον. μαχομένου δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁ Ζεὺς ἴησι μέσον αὐτῶν κεραυνόν. καὶ τοῦτον διαλυθέντων τὸν τρόπον, λαμβάνει χρησμὸν Ἑρακλῆς, ὃς ἔλεγεν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῷ τῆς νόσου ἔσεσθαι πραθέντι καὶ τρία ἔτη λατρεύσαντι καὶ δόντι  
 3 ποινὴν τοῦ φόνου τὴν τιμὴν Εὐρύτῳ. τοῦ δὲ χρησμοῦ δοθέντος Ἑρμῆς Ἑρακλέα πιπράσκει· καὶ αὐτὸν ὠνεῖται Ὀμφάλῃ Ἰαρδάνου,<sup>2</sup> βασιλεύουσα Λυδῶν, ἣ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τελευτῶν ὁ γῆμας Τμῶλος κατέλιπε. τὴν μὲν οὖν τιμὴν κομισθεῖσαν Εὐρυτος οὐ προσεδέξατο, Ἑρακλῆς δὲ Ὀμφάλῃ δουλεύων τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον Κέρκωπας συλλαβὼν ἔδησε, Σϋλέα δὲ ἐν

<sup>1</sup> κατασκευάζειν E: κατασκευάζει A.

<sup>2</sup> ἰαρδάνου R (second hand), Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 430: ἰορδάνου EA. The MSS. of Pausanias similarly vary between the forms ἰαρδάνου and ἰορδάνου as the name of a river in Elis. See Pausanias vi. 21. 6, with the critical notes of Schubart and Walz, of Hitzig and Blümner.

<sup>1</sup> As to the attempt of Hercules to carry off the tripod, see Plutarch, *De EI apud Delphos*, 6; *id. De sera numinis vindicta*, 12 (who says that Hercules carried it off to Pheneus); Pausanias, iii. 21. 8, viii. 37. 1, x. 13. 7 *sq.*; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* ix. 29 (43); Cicero, *De natura deorum*, iii. 16. 42; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300. The subject was often represented in ancient art; for example, it was sculptured in the gable of the Treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi; the principal pieces of the sculpture were discovered by the French in their excavation of the sanctuary. See E. Bourguet, *Les ruines de Delphes* (Paris, 1914), pp. 76 *sqq.*, and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. v. pp. 274 *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> As to Hercules and Omphale, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 247 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 5-8; Lucian, *Dialog.*

how he might be rid of the disease. As the Pythian priestess answered him not by oracles, he was fain to plunder the temple, and, carrying off the tripod, to institute an oracle of his own. But Apollo fought him,<sup>1</sup> and Zeus threw a thunderbolt between them. When they had thus been parted, Hercules received an oracle, which declared that the remedy for his disease was for him to be sold, and to serve for three years, and to pay compensation for the murder to Eurytus. After the delivery of the oracle, Hermes sold Hercules, and he was bought by Omphale,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Iardanes, queen of Lydia, to whom at his death her husband Tmolus had bequeathed the government. Eurytus did not accept the compensation when it was presented to him, but Hercules served Omphale as a slave, and in the course of his servitude he seized and bound the Cercopes at Ephesus;<sup>3</sup> and as for Syleus in Aulis, who compelled

*deorum*. xiii. 2; Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 45; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*. ii. 425 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xxi. 22; Joannes Lydus, *De magistratibus*, iii. 64; Ovid, *Heroides*. ix. 55 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 32; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 371 *sqq.*; Statius, *Theb.* x. 646-649. According to Pherecydes, cited by the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*), Hermes sold Hercules to Omphale for three talents. The sum obtained by his sale was to be paid as compensation to the sons of the murdered Iphitus, according to Diodorus (*l.c.*). The period of his servitude, according to Sophocles (*Trachiniaiæ*, 252 *sq.*), was only one year; but Herodorus, cited by the Scholiast on Sophocles (*Trach.* 253), says that it was three years, which agrees with the statement of Apollodorus.

<sup>3</sup> As to the Cercopes, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7; Nonnus, in *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, *Appendix Narrationum*, 39, p. 375; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 431, v. 73 *sqq.*; Zenobius, *Cent.* v. 10; Apostolius, *Cent.* xi. 19. These malefactors were two in number. Hercules is said to have carried them hanging with their heads downward from

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Αὐλίδι<sup>1</sup> τοὺς παριόντας ξένους σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα, σὺν ταῖς ῥίζαις τὰς ἀμπέλους καύσας<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ξενοδόκης<sup>3</sup> ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ προσσχὼν νῆσφ Δολίχην, τὸ Ἰκάρου σῶμα ἰδὼν τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς προσφερόμενον ἔθαψε, καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀντὶ Δολίχης Ἰκαρίαν ἐκάλεσεν. ἀντὶ τούτου Δαίδαλος ἐν Πίσῃ εἰκόνα παραπλησίαν κατεσκεύασεν Ἡρακλεῖ· ἦν νυκτὸς ἀγνοήσας Ἡρακλῆς λίθφ βαλὼν ὡς ἔμπνουν ἔπληξε. καθ' ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐλάτρευε παρ' Ὀμφάλῃ, λέγεται τὸν ἐπὶ Κόλχους πλοῦν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καλυδωνίου κάπρου

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Αὐλίδι EA, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: ἐν Λυδίῃ Pierson, Westermann: τὸν Λύδιον Gale: ἐν αὐλῶνι or ἐν ἀμπελῶνι Heyne (conjecture): ἐν φύλλιδι Hercher. But Heyne's conjecture ἐν ἀμπελῶνι may be right; for a place Aulis in Lydia is otherwise unknown, and the mention of the vineyards seems essential to the sense. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7, *Συλέα δὲ τοὺς παριόντας ξένους συναρπάζοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 432 sq., *Συλέα καὶ τὸν Λύδιον, βιάζοντας τοὺς ξένους || τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας αὐτῶν σκάπτειν δουλείας τρώφ.* Tzetzes appears to have made two men out of Syleus the Lydian: his version favours Gale's conjecture in the present passage of Apollodorus. The passage should perhaps be rewritten as follows: *Συλέα δὲ τὸν Λύδιον τοὺς παριόντας ξένους <τοὺς ἀμπελῶνας> σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα, σὺν ταῖς ῥίζαις τὰς ἀμπέλους ἀνασπάσας* κτλ. See the next note.

<sup>2</sup> καύσας E: σκάψας A: σπάσας Meineke. We should perhaps read ἀνασπάσας, comparing Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 435, *καὶ προβελύμνους ἀνασπᾶ καὶ τούτου τὰς ἀμπέλους.* The uprooted vines are shown at the feet of Hercules and Syleus in a vase-painting. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon d. griech. u. röm. Myth.* iii. 1622.

<sup>3</sup> Ξενοδόκης EC: Ξενοδίκης R<sup>a</sup>B, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 434.

a pole. They are so represented in Greek art. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 1166 sqq. The name Cercopes seems to mean "tailed men," (from *κέρκος*, "tail"). One story concerning them was that they were

passing strangers to dig, Hercules killed him with his daughter Xenodice, after burning the vines with the roots.<sup>1</sup> And having put in to the island of Doliche, he saw the body of Icarus washed ashore and buried it, and he called the island Icaria instead of Doliche. In return Daedalus made a portrait statue of Hercules at Pisa, which Hercules mistook at night for living and threw a stone and hit it. And during the time of his servitude with Omphale it is said that the voyage to Colchis<sup>2</sup> and the hunt of the Calydonian deceitful men whom Zeus punished by turning them into apes, and that the islands of Ischia and Procida, off the Bay of Naples, were called Pithecusae ("Ape Islands") after them. See Harpocration, *s.v.* Κέρκωψ; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xix. 247, p. 1864; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiv. 88 *sqq.* According to Pherecydes, the Cercopes were turned into stone. See Scholiast on Lucian, *Alexander*, 4, p. 181, ed. H. Rabe. The story of Hercules and the Cercopes has been interpreted as a reminiscence of Phoenician traders bringing apes to Greek markets. See O. Keller, *Thiere des klassischen Alterthums* (Innsbruck, 1887), p. 1. The interpretation may perhaps be supported by an Assyrian bas-relief which represents a Herculean male figure carrying an ape on his head and leading another ape by a leash, the animals being apparently brought as tribute to a king. See O. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 11, fig. 2; Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, ii. 547, fig. 254.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 31. 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 432 *sq.*; Conon, *Narrat.* 17. Euripides wrote a satyric play on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 575 *sqq.* The legend may be based on a custom practised by vine-dressers on passing strangers. See W. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, pp. 12, 53 *sqq.*, who, for the rough jests of vine-dressers in antiquity, refers to Horace, *Sat.* i. 8. 28 *sqq.*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 26. 66. (249).

<sup>2</sup> That is, the voyage of the Argo. See above, i. 9. 16 *sqq.* As to the hunt of the Calydonian boar, see above, i. 8. 2 *sqq.* As to the clearance of the Isthmus by Theseus, see below, iii. 16, and the *Epitome*, i. 1 *sqq.*



θήραν, καὶ Θησέα παραγενόμενον ἐκ Τροιζήνης τὸν Ἴσθμὸν καθᾶραι.

- 4 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν λατρείαν ἀπαλλαγείς τῆς νόσου ἐπὶ Ἴλιον ἔπλει πεντηκοντόροις ὀκτωκαίδεκα, συναθροίσας στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων ἑκουσίως θελόντων στρατεύεσθαι. καταπλεύσας δὲ εἰς Ἴλιον τὴν μὲν τῶν νεῶν φυλακὴν Ὀικλεῖ κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀριστέων ὄρμα ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. παραγενόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς σὺν τῷ πλήθει Λαομέδων Ὀικλέα μὲν ἀπέκτεινε μαχόμενον, ἀπελασθεῖς<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ Ἡρακλέους ἐπολιορκεῖτο. τῆς δὲ πολιορκίας ἐνεστώσης ῥήξας τὸ τεῖχος Τελαμῶν πρῶτος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Ἡρακλῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐθεάσατο Τελαμῶνα πρῶτον εἰσεληλυθότα, σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὄρμα,<sup>2</sup> μηδένα θέλων ἑαυτοῦ κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. συνιδὼν δὲ τοῦτο Τελαμῶν λίθους πλησίον κειμένους συνήθροιζε, τοῦ δὲ ἐρομένου τί πράττοι βωμὸν εἶπεν Ἡρακλέους κατασκευάζειν καλλινίκου. ὁ δὲ ἐπαινέσας, ὡς εἶλε τὴν πόλιν, κατατοξεύσας Λαομέδοντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Ποδάρκου, Τελαμῶνι ἀριστεῖον Ἡσιόνην τὴν Λαομέδοντος θυγατέρα

<sup>1</sup> ἀπελασθεῖς A : ἀπελαθεῖς R<sup>a</sup>, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Heroher, Wagner. On the form of the aorist ἐλασθεῖς, see Veitch, *Greek Verbs* (Oxford, 1879), p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> ὄρμα E : ἤρει A, Wagner.

<sup>1</sup> As to the siege and capture of Troy by Hercules, see Homer, *Il.* v. 640-643, 648-651; Pindar, *Isthm.* vi. 26 (38) *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 32; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 443 *sq.*; *id. Schol. on Lycophron*, 34; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 213-217, xiii. 22 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89. The account given by Diodorus agrees so closely in matter, though not in words,

boar took place, and that Theseus on his way from Troezen cleared the Isthmus of malefactors.

After his servitude, being rid of his disease he mustered an army of noble volunteers and sailed for Ilium with eighteen ships of fifty oars each.<sup>1</sup> And having come to port at Ilium, he left the guard of the ships to Oicles<sup>2</sup> and himself with the rest of the champions set out to attack the city. Howbeit Laomedon marched against the ships with the multitude and slew Oicles in battle, but being repulsed by the troops of Hercules, he was besieged. The siege once laid, Telamon was the first to breach the wall and enter the city, and after him Hercules. But when he saw that Telamon had entered it first, he drew his sword and rushed at him, loath that anybody should be reputed a better man than himself. Perceiving that, Telamon collected stones that lay to hand, and when Hercules asked him what he did, he said he was building an altar to Hercules the Glorious Victor.<sup>3</sup> Hercules thanked him, and when he had taken the city and shot down Laomedon and his sons, except Podarces, he assigned Laomedon's daughter Hesione

with that of Apollodorus that both authors probably drew on the same source. Homer, with whom Tzetzes agrees, says that Hercules went to Troy with only six ships. Diodorus notices the Homeric statement, but mentions that according to some the fleet of Hercules numbered "eighteen long ships."

<sup>2</sup> As to Oicles at Troy, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 32. 3; Pausanias, viii. 36. 6, who says that his tomb was shown near Megalopolis in Arcadia. Sophocles seems to have written a play called *Oicles*, though there is some doubt as to the spelling of the name. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> This incident is recorded also by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 469); but according to him the title which Telamon applied to Hercules at the altar was Averter of Ills (*Alexikakos*), not Glorious Victor (*Kallinikos*).

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δίδωσι, καὶ ταύτη συγχωρεῖ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὃν ἤθελεν ἄγεσθαι. τῆς δὲ αἵρουμένης τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ποδάρκην, ἔφη δεῖν πρῶτον αὐτὸν δούλον γενέσθαι, καὶ τότε τί ποτε δοῦσαν ἂντ' αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> λαβεῖν αὐτόν. ἢ δὲ πιπρασκομένου τὴν καλύπτραν ἀφελομένη τῆς κεφαλῆς ἂντέδωκεν· ὅθεν Ποδάρκης Πρίαμος ἐκλήθη.

VII. Πλέοντος δὲ ἀπὸ Τροίας Ἡρακλέους Ἡρα χαλεποὺς ἔπεμψε<sup>2</sup> χειμῶνας· ἐφ' οἷς ἀγανακτήσας Ζεὺς ἐκρέμασεν αὐτὴν ἐξ Ὀλύμπου. προσέπλει δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τῇ Κῶ· καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Κῶοι ληστρικὸν ἄγειν στόλον, βάλλοντες λίθοις προσπλεῖν ἐκώλυον. ὁ δὲ βιασάμενος αὐτὴν νυκτὸς<sup>3</sup> εἶλε, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Εὐρύπυλον, Ἀστυπαλαίας παῖδα καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἔκτεινεν. ἐτρώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Χαλκῳδοντος, καὶ Διὸς ἐξαρπάσαντος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθε. πορθήσας δὲ Κῶ ἦκε δι' Ἀθηνᾶς<sup>4</sup> εἰς Φλέγραν, καὶ μετὰ θεῶν κατεπολέμησε Γίγαντας.

<sup>1</sup> δοῦσαν ἂντ' αὐτοῦ E: δοῦσ' ἂντ' αὐτῶν A.

<sup>2</sup> ἔπεμψε EA: ἐπέπεμψε conjectured by Heyne, who rightly observed that ἐπιπέμπειν is the usual word in this connexion. Compare i. 9. 24, *Epitome*, iii. 4, vi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὴν νυκτὸς Wagner: τὴν νύκτα A.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀθηνᾶς Gale, Heyne (comparing i. 6. 1): Ἀθηνᾶν Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner, apparently following the MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1299-1303; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 284; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi. 216 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 89.

<sup>2</sup> This derivation of the name Priam from the verb *priamai*, "to buy," is repeated, somewhat more clearly, by Tzetzes,

as a prize to Telamon<sup>1</sup> and allowed her to take with her whomsoever of the captives she would. When she chose her brother Podarces, Hercules said that he must first be a slave and then be ransomed by her. So when he was being sold she took the veil from her head and gave it as a ransom; hence Podarces was called Priam.<sup>2</sup>

VII. When Hercules was sailing from Troy, Hera sent grievous storms,<sup>3</sup> which so vexed Zeus that he hung her from Olympus.<sup>4</sup> Hercules sailed to Cos,<sup>5</sup> and the Coans, thinking he was leading a piratical squadron, endeavoured to prevent his approach by a shower of stones. But he forced his way in and took the city by night, and slew the king, Eurypylos, son of Poseidon by Astypalaea. And Hercules was wounded in the battle by Chalcedon; but Zeus snatched him away, so that he took no harm. And having laid waste Cos, he came through Athena's agency to Phlegra, and sided with the gods in their victorious war on the giants.<sup>6</sup>

*Schol. on Lycophron, 34, Ποδάρκην ἐπρίατο, ἴθην καὶ ἐκλήθη Πρίαμος. Compare Hyginus, Fab. 89, Podarci, filio eius infanti, regnum dedit, qui postea Priamus est appellatus, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίασθαι. For the bestowal by Hercules of the kingdom on the youthful Priam, compare Seneca, Troades, 718 sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> See Homer, *Il.* xiv. 249 sqq., xv. 24 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See Apollodorus, i. 3. 5.

<sup>5</sup> With the following account of Hercules's adventures in Cos, compare the Scholiasts on Homer, *Il.* i. 590, xiv. 255; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 445; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vii. 363 sq. The Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xiv. 255) tells us that the story was found in Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus probably follows in the present passage.

<sup>6</sup> See Apollodorus, i. 6. 1 sq.

2 Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἐπ' Αὐγείαν ἐστρατεύετο, συναθροίσας Ἀρκαδικὸν στρατὸν καὶ παραλαβὼν ἐβελοντὰς τῶν<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀριστέων. Αὐγείας δὲ τὸν ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους πόλεμον ἀκούων κατέστησεν Ἡλείων στρατηγούς Εὐρυτον καὶ Κτέατον συμφυεῖς, οἱ δυνάμει τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλλον, παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν Μολιόνης καὶ Ἀκτορος, ἐλέγοντο δὲ Ποσειδῶνος. Ἄκτωρ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ἦν Αὐγείου. συνέβη δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν νοσῆσαι· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ σπουδὰς πρὸς τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐποιήσατο. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγινόντες αὐτὸν νοσοῦντα, ἐπιτίθενται τῷ στρατεύματι καὶ κτείνουσι πολλούς. τότε μὲν οὖν<sup>2</sup> ἀνεχώρησεν Ἡρακλῆς· αὐθις δὲ τῆς τρίτης ἰσθμιάδος τελουμένης, Ἡλείων τοὺς Μολιονίδας πεμψάντων συνθύτας, ἐν Κλεωναῖς ἐνεδρεύσας τούτους Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὴν Ἥλιον εἶλε τὴν πόλιν. καὶ κτείνας μετὰ τῶν παίδων Αὐγείαν κατήγαγε Φυλέα, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔδωκεν. ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμ-

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀστῶν A, Westermann, Müller. ἀστῶν is rightly omitted by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner, following Heyne.

<sup>2</sup> οὖν E: οὖν οὐκ A.

<sup>1</sup> For the expedition of Hercules against Augeas, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 1; Pausanias, v. i. 10 sq., v. 2. 1, vi. 20. 16; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 31 (40).

<sup>2</sup> As to Eurytus and Cteatus, who were called Actoriones after their father Actor, and Moliones or Molionides, after their mother Molione, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 621, xi. 709 sq., 751 sqq., xxiii. 638; Pausanias, v. 1. 10 sq., v. 2. 1 sq. and 5. According to some, they had two bodies joined in one (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 638, 639). According to others, they had each two heads, four hands, and four feet but only one body (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 709). Compare Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xi. 749, p. 882. The poet Ibycus spoke

Not long afterwards he collected an Arcadian army, and being joined by volunteers from the first men in Greece he marched against Augeas.<sup>1</sup> But Augeas, hearing of the war that Hercules was levying, appointed Eurytus and Cteatus<sup>2</sup> generals of the Eleans. They were two men joined in one, who surpassed all of that generation in strength and were sons of Actor by Molione, though their father was said to be Poseidon; now Actor was a brother of Augeas. But it came to pass that on the expedition Hercules fell sick; hence he concluded a truce with the Molionides. But afterwards, being apprized of his illness, they attacked the army and slew many. On that occasion, therefore, Hercules beat a retreat; but afterwards at the celebration of the third Isthmian festival, when the Eleans sent the Molionides to take part in the sacrifices, Hercules waylaid and killed them at Cleonae,<sup>3</sup> and marching on Elis took the city. And having killed Augeas and his sons, he restored Phyleus and bestowed on him the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> He also celebrated the Olympian games<sup>5</sup> and

of them as twins, born of a silver egg and "with equal heads in one body" (*ἰσοκεφάλους ἐνιγυίους*). See Athenæus, ii. 50, pp. 57 sq. Their story was told by Pherecydes (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 709), whom Apollodorus may have followed in the present passage.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 26 (32) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 3; Pausanias, ii. 15. 1, v. 2. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 34 (43) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 4; Pausanias, v. 3. 1; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 700.

<sup>5</sup> Hercules is said to have marked out the sacred precinct at Olympia, instituted the quadriennial Olympic festival, and celebrated the Olympic games for the first time. See Pindar, *Olymp.* iii. 3 sq., vi. 67 sqq., x. 43 (51) sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 14. 1 sq., v. 64. 6; Pausanias, v. 7. 9, v. 8. 1 and 3 sq.; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 41; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xi. 700; Hyginus, *Fab.* 273.

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πιακὸν ἀγῶνα, Πέλοπός τε βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο, καὶ θεῶν δώδεκα βωμοὺς ἕξ<sup>1</sup> ἐδείματο.

- 3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἥλιδος ἄλωσιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Πύλον, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔλων Περικλύμενον κτείνει τὸν ἀλκιμώτατον τῶν Νηλέως παίδων, ὃς μεταβάλλων τὰς μορφὰς ἐμάχετο. τὸν δὲ Νηλέα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Νέστορος ἀπέκτεινεν· οὗτος δὲ<sup>2</sup> νέος ὢν παρὰ Γερηνίοις ἐτρέφετο. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην καὶ Ἄϊδην ἔτρωσε Πυλίοις βοηθοῦντα.

Ἐλὼν δὲ τὴν Πύλον ἐστράτευεν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα, μετελθεῖν τοὺς Ἴπποκόωντος παῖδας θέλων· ὠργίζετο μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ διότι Νηλεῖ συνεμάχησαν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὠργίσθη ὅτι τὸν Λικυμνίου παῖδα ἀπέκτειναν. θεωμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἴπποκόωντος βασιλεία, ἐκδραμῶν κύων τῶν Μολοτικῶν<sup>3</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο· ὁ δὲ βαλὼν λίθον ἐπέτυχε τοῦ κυνός, ἐκτροχάσαντες δὲ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> ἕξ Heyne (conjecture), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : ἐξῆς A, Westermann.      <sup>2</sup> οὗτος γὰρ E.

<sup>3</sup> Μολοτικῶν Aegius : μολπικῶν A.

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<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus is probably mistaken in speaking of an altar of Pelops at Olympia. The more accurate Pausanias describes (v. 13. 1 sq.) a precinct of Pelops founded by Hercules at Olympia and containing a pit, in which the magistrates annually sacrificed a black ram to the hero: he does not mention an altar. As a hero, that is, a worshipful dead man, Pelops was not entitled to an altar, he had only a right to a sacrificial pit. For sacrifices to the dead in pits, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 23 sqq.; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xx. 27; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 274; Pausanias, ix. 39. 6; Fr. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, pp. 474 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> As to the six double altars, each dedicated to a pair of deities, see Pindar, *Olymp.* v. 4 (8) sqq., x. 24 (30) sq.;

founded an altar of Pelops,<sup>1</sup> and built six altars of the twelve gods.<sup>2</sup>

After the capture of Elis he marched against Pylus,<sup>3</sup> and having taken the city he slew Periclymenus, the most valiant of the sons of Neleus, who used to change his shape in battle.<sup>4</sup> And he slew Neleus and his sons, except Nestor; for he was a youth and was being brought up among the Gerenians. In the fight he also wounded Hades, who was siding with the Pylians.<sup>5</sup>

Having taken Pylus he marched against Lacedaemon, wishing to punish the sons of Hippocoon,<sup>6</sup> for he was angry with them, both because they fought for Neleus, and still angrier because they had killed the son of Licymnius. For when he was looking at the palace of Hippocoon, a hound of the Molossian breed ran out and rushed at him, and he threw a stone and hit the dog, whereupon the Hippocoöntids

Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* v. 4 (8) and 5 (10), who cites Herodorus on the foundation of the altars by Hercules.

<sup>2</sup> As to the war of Hercules on Pylus, see Homer, *Il.* v. 392 *sqq.*, xi. 690 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 396; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 26. 8, v. 3. 1, vi. 22. 5, vi. 25. 2 *sq.*; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 451; Ovid, *Metamorph.* xiii. 549 *sqq.*

<sup>4</sup> See Apollodorus, i. 9. 9, with the note.

<sup>5</sup> See Homer, *Il.* v. 395 *sqq.*; Pausanias, vi. 25. 2 *sq.* In the same battle Hercules is said to have wounded Hera with an arrow in the right breast. See Homer, *Il.* v. 392 *sqq.*; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31, ed. Potter, from whom we learn that Panyasis mentioned the wounding of the goddess by the hero. Again, in the same fight at Pylus, we read that Hercules gashed the thigh of Ares with his spear and laid that doughty deity in the dust. See Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 359 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> As to the war of Hercules with Hippocoon and his sons, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 5 *sq.*; Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, iii. 10. 6, iii. 15. 3-6, iii. 19. 7, viii. 53. 9.



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Ἴπποκοωντίδαι καὶ τύπτοντες αὐτὸν τοῖς σκυτά-  
λοις ἀπέκτειναν. τὸν δὲ τούτου θάνατον ἐκδικῶν  
στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους<sup>1</sup> συνήθροιζε. καὶ  
παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν ἠξίου Κηφέα μετὰ  
τῶν παίδων ὧν εἶχεν εἴκοσι συμμαχεῖν. δεδιὼς δὲ  
Κηφεὺς μὴ καταλιπόντος αὐτοῦ Τεγέαν Ἀργεῖοι  
ἐπιστρατεύσονται, τὴν στρατείαν ἠρνεῖτο. Ἡρα-  
κλῆς δὲ παρ' Ἀθηνᾶς λαβὼν ἐν ὑδρία χαλκῇ<sup>2</sup>  
βόστρυχον Γοργόνος Στερόπη<sup>3</sup> τῇ Κηφέως θυγα-  
τρὶ δίδωσιν, εἰπὼν, ἐὰν ἐπὶ στρατός, τρις ἀνα-  
σχούσης <ἐκ><sup>4</sup> τῶν τειχῶν τὸν βόστρυχον καὶ μὴ  
προϊδούσης<sup>5</sup> τροπὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔσεσθαι. τού-  
του γενομένου Κηφεὺς μετὰ τῶν παίδων ἐστρά-  
τευε. καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ παῖδες  
αὐτοῦ τελευτῶσι, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἴφικλῆς<sup>6</sup> ὁ  
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀδελφός. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ κτείνας  
τὸν Ἴπποκόωντα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ <καὶ><sup>7</sup>  
χειρωσάμενος τὴν πόλιν, Τυνδάρεων καταγαγὼν  
τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκε τούτῳ.

4 Παριῶν δὲ Τεγέαν Ἡρακλῆς τὴν Αὔγην Ἀλεοῦ  
θυγατέρα οὖσαν ἀγνοῶν ἔφθειρεν. ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα

<sup>1</sup> Λακεδαιμονίους E: Λακεδαιμονίαν A: Λακεδαίμονα Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> χαλκῇ E: χαλκοῦς A.

<sup>3</sup> Στερόπη EA: Ἀερόπη Pausanias, viii. 44. 7, Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκ inserted by Aegius.

<sup>5</sup> προϊδούσης EA: προσιδούσης Heyne (conjecture).

<sup>6</sup> Ἴφικλῆς E: Ἴφικλος A.

<sup>7</sup> καὶ inserted by Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, viii. 47. 5.

<sup>2</sup> As to the story of Hercules, Auge, and Telephus, see Apollodorus, iii. 9. 1; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 7-12; Strabo, xiii. 1. 69, p. 615; Pausanias, viii. 4. 9, viii. 47. 4, viii. 48. 7, viii. 54. 6, x. 28. 8; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 206; Hyginus, *Fab.* 99 sq. The tale was told by Hecataeus (Pausa-

darted out and despatched him with blows of their cudgels. It was to avenge his death that Hercules mustered an army against the Lacedaemonians. And having come to Arcadia he begged Cepheus to join him with his sons, of whom he had twenty. But fearing lest, if he quitted Tegea, the Argives would march against it, Cepheus refused to join the expedition. But Hercules had received from Athena a lock of the Gorgon's hair in a bronze jar and gave it to Sterope, daughter of Cepheus, saying that if an army advanced against the city, she was to hold up the lock of hair thrice from the walls, and that, provided she did not look before her, the enemy would be turned to flight.<sup>1</sup> That being so, Cepheus and his sons took the field, and in the battle he and his sons perished, and besides them Iphicles, the brother of Hercules. Having killed Hippocoon and his sons and subjugated the city, Hercules restored Tyndareus and entrusted the kingdom to him.

Passing by Tegea, Hercules debauched Auge, not knowing her to be a daughter of Aleus.<sup>2</sup> And she

nias, viii. 4. 9, viii. 47. 4), and was the theme of tragedies by Sophocles and Euripides. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>3</sup>, pp. 146 *sqq.*, 436 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 46 *sqq.*, ii. 70 *sqq.* Different versions of the story were current among ancient writers and illustrated by ancient artists. See my note on Pausanias, i. 4. 6 (vol. ii. pp. 75 *sq.*). One of these versions, which I omitted to notice in that place, ran as follows. On a visit to Delphi, king Aleus of Tegea was warned by the oracle that his daughter would bear a son who would kill his maternal uncles, the sons of Aleus. To guard against this catastrophe, Aleus hurried home and appointed his daughter priestess of Athena, declaring that, should she prove unchaste, he would put her to death. As chance would have it, Hercules arrived at Tegea on his way to Elis, where he purposed to make war on Augeas. The king entertained him hospitably

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κρύφα τὸ βρέφος κατέθετο ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. λοιμῶ<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῆς χώρας φθειρομένης, Ἀλεὸς εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ τέμενος καὶ ἐρευνήσας τὰς τῆς θυγατρὸς ὠδύνας εὔρε. τὸ μὲν οὖν βρέφος εἰς τὸ Παρθένιον ὄρος ἐξέθετο. καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ θεῶν τινα πρόνοιαν ἐσώθη· θηλὴν μὲν γὰρ ἄρτι-

<sup>1</sup> λοιμῶ. Wagner conjectures λιμῶ, comparing iii. 9. 1.

in the sanctuary of Athena, and there the hero, flushed with wine, violated the maiden priestess. Learning that she was with child, her father Aleus sent for the experienced ferryman Nauplius, father of Palamedes, and entrusted his daughter to him to take and drown her. On their way to the sea the girl (Auge) gave birth to Telephus on Mount Parthenius, and instead of drowning her and the infant the ferryman sold them both to king Teuthras in Mysia, who, being childless, married Auge and adopted Telephus. See Alcidamas, *Odys.* 14-16, pp. 179 *sq.*, ed. Blass (appended to his edition of Antiphon). This version, which represents mother and child as sold together to Teuthras, differs from the version adopted by Apollodorus, according to whom Auge alone was sold to Teuthras in Mysia, while her infant son Telephus was left behind in Arcadia and reared by herdsmen (iii. 9. 1). The sons of Aleus and maternal uncles of Telephus were Cephæus and Lycurgus (Apollodorus, iii. 9. 1). Ancient writers do not tell us how Telephus fulfilled the oracle by killing them, though the murder is mentioned by Hyginus (*Fab.* 244) and a Greek proverb-writer (*Paroemiographi Graeci*, ed. Leutsch et Schneidewin, vol. i. p. 212). Sophocles appears to have told the story in his lost play, *The Mysians*; for in it he described how Telephus came, silent and speechless, from Tegea to Mysia (Aristotle, *Poetics*, 24, p. 1460a, 32, ed. Bekker), and this silence of Telephus seems to have been proverbial. For the comic poet Alexis, speaking of a greedy parasite who used to gobble up his dinner without exchanging a word with anybody, says that, "he dines like speechless Telephus, answering all questions put to him only with nods" (Athenaeus, x. 18, p. 421 D). And another comic poet, Amphis, describing the high and mighty airs with which fishmongers treated their

brought forth her babe secretly and deposited it in the precinct of Athena. But the country being wasted by a pestilence, Aleus entered the precinct and on investigation discovered his daughter's motherhood. So he exposed the babe on Mount Parthenius, and by the providence of the gods it was preserved: for a doe that had just cast her fawn

customers in the market, says that it was a thousand times easier to get speech of a general than of a fishmonger; for if you addressed one of these gentry and, pointing to a fish, asked "How much?" he would not at first deign to look at you, much less speak to you, but would stoop down, silent as Telephus, over his wares; though in time, his desire of lucre overcoming his contempt of you, he would slap a bloated octopus and mutter meditatively, as if soliloquizing, "Six-pence for him, and a bob for the hammer-fish." This latter poet explains incidentally why Telephus was silent; he says it was very natural that fishmongers should hold their tongue, "for all homicides are in the same case," thus at once informing us of a curious point in Greek law or custom and gratifying his spite at the "cursed fishmongers," whom he compares to the worst class of criminals. See Athenaeus, vi. 5, p. 224 DE. As Greek homicides were supposed to be haunted by the ghosts of their victims until a ceremony of purification was performed which rid them of their invisible, but dangerous, pursuers, we may conjecture that the rule of silence had to be observed by them until the accomplishment of the purificatory rite released them from the restrictions under which they laboured during their uncleanness, and permitted them once more to associate freely with their fellows. As to the restrictions imposed on homicides in ancient Greece, see *Psyche's Task*, 2nd ed. pp. 113 sqq.; *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 80, 83 sq. The motive of the homicide's silence may have been a fear lest by speaking he should attract the attention, and draw down on himself the vengeance, of his victim's ghost. Similarly, among certain peoples, a widow is bound to observe silence for some time after her husband's death, and the rule appears to be based on a like dread of exciting the angry or amorous passions of her departed spouse by the sound of the familiar voice. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 71 sqq.

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τόκος ἔλαφος ὑπέσχευ αὐτῷ, ποιμένες δὲ ἀνελόμενοι τὸ βρέφος Τήλεφον ἐκάλεσαν αὐτό. Αὐγην δὲ ἔδωκε Ναυπλίῳ τῷ Ποσειδῶνος ὑπερόριον ἀπεμπολήσαι. ὁ δὲ Τεύθραντι τῷ Τευθρανίας ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν δυνάστη, κακείνος γυναικα ἐποίησατο.

- 5 Παραγενόμενος δὲ Ἡρακλῆς εἰς Καλυδῶνα τὴν Οἰνέως θυγατέρα Δηιάνειραν ἐμνηστεύετο,<sup>1</sup> καὶ διαπαλαίσας ὑπὲρ τῶν γάμων αὐτῆς πρὸς Ἀχελῶν εἰκασμένον ταύρω περιέκλασε τὸ ἕτερον τῶν κεράτων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Δηιάνειραν γαμῆι, τὸ δὲ κέρας Ἀχελῶος λαμβάνει, δούς ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας. Ἀμάλθεια δὲ ἦν Αἰμονίου<sup>2</sup> θυγάτηρ, ἣ κέρας εἶχε ταύρου. τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Φερεκύδης λέγει, δύναμιν εἶχε<sup>3</sup> τοιαύτην ὥστε βρωτὸν ἢ ποτόν, ὅπερ <ἂν> εὔξαιτό<sup>4</sup> τις, παρέχειν ἄφθονον.

<sup>1</sup> ἐμνηστεύετο EA: ἐμνηστεύσατο, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* (ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλοδώρου βιβλιοθήκης).

<sup>2</sup> Αἰμονίου *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50, Aegius: ἀρμενίου A.

<sup>3</sup> εἶχε *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Faber, Müller, Hercher: ἔχει EA, Westermann, Bekker, Wagner.

<sup>4</sup> ὅπερ ἂν εὔξαιτο *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: ὅπερ εὔξαιτο EA.

<sup>1</sup> Apollodorus seems to derive the name Telephus from θηλή, "a dug," and ἔλαφος, "a doe."

<sup>2</sup> When Hercules went down to hell to fetch up Cerberus, he met the ghost of Meleager, and conversing with him proposed to marry the dead hero's sister, Deianira. The story of the match thus made, not in heaven but in hell, is told by Bacchylides (*Epinic*. v. 165 *sqq.*), and seems to have been related by Pindar in a lost poem (Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 194). As to the marriage of Hercules with Deianira at Calydon, the home of her father Oeneus, see also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 34. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On the struggle of Hercules with the river Achelous, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 9-21; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 35. 3 *sq.*;

gave it suck, and shepherds took up the babe and called it Telephus.<sup>1</sup> And her father gave Auge to Nauplius, son of Poseidon, to sell far away in a foreign land; and Nauplius gave her to Teuthras, the prince of Teuthrania, who made her his wife.

And having come to Calydon, Hercules wooed Deianira, daughter of Oeneus.<sup>2</sup> He wrestled for her hand with Achelous, who assumed the likeness of a bull; but Hercules broke off one of his horns.<sup>3</sup> So Hercules married Deianira, but Achelous recovered the horn by giving the horn of Amalthea in its stead. Now Amalthea was a daughter of Haemonius, and she had a bull's horn, which, according to Pherecydes, had the power of supplying meat or drink in abundance, whatever one might wish.<sup>4</sup>

Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* ix.; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxi. 194; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 1-88; Hyginus, *Fab.* 31; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 20, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). According to Ovid, the river-god turned himself first into a serpent and then into a bull. The story was told by Archilochus, who represented the river Achelous in the form of a bull, as we learn from the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*). Diodorus rationalized the legend in his dull manner by supposing that it referred to a canal which the eminent philanthropist Hercules dug for the benefit of the people of Calydon.

<sup>4</sup> According to some, Amalthea was the goat on whose milk the infant Zeus was fed. From one of its horns flowed ambrosia, and from the other flowed nectar. See Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 48 sq., with the Scholiast. According to others, Amalthea was only the nymph who owned the goat which suckled the god. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 13; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 13; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 115 sqq. Some said that, in gratitude for having been nurtured on the animal's milk, Zeus made a constellation of the goat and bestowed one of its horns on the nymphs who had reared him, at the same time ordaining that the horn should produce whatever they asked for. See Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 48. As to the horn, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 501 sq.

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6 Στρατεύει δὲ Ἡρακλῆς μετὰ Καλυδωνίων ἐπὶ Θεσπρωτοῦς, καὶ πόλιν ἐλὼν Ἐφυραν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Φύλας,<sup>1</sup> Ἀστυόχῃ τῇ τούτου θυγατρὶ συνελθὼν πατὴρ Γληπολέμου<sup>2</sup> γίνεται. διατελὼν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς, πέμψας πρὸς Θεσπίον ἑπτὰ μὲν κατέχειν ἔλεγε παῖδας, τρεῖς δὲ εἰς Θήβας ἀποστέλλειν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τεσσαράκοντα πέμπειν εἰς Σαρδῶ τὴν νῆσον ἐπ' ἀποικίαν. γενομένων δὲ τούτων εὐωχούμενος παρ' Οἰνεῖ<sup>3</sup> κονδύλῳ πλήξας<sup>4</sup> ἀπέκτεινεν Ἀρχιτέλους παῖδα Εὐνομον<sup>5</sup> κατὰ χειρῶν δίδόντα· συγγενῆς δὲ Οἰνέως οὗτος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τοῦ παιδός, ἀκουσίως

<sup>1</sup> Φύλας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: φύδας A: φυλεύς Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Γληπολέμου *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae* (compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1): τριπτολέμου A.

<sup>3</sup> παρὰ Οἰνεῖ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: παρ' οἰνείην καὶ A. <sup>4</sup> πάλσας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>5</sup> Εὐνομον *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*. He is named "Εννομος by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 50; *Chiliades*, ii. 456) and Εὐρόνομος by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 36. 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 1, who gives Phyleus as the name of the king of Ephyra, but does not mention the name of his daughter. According to Pindar (*Olymp.* vii. 23 (40) *sq.*, with the Scholiast), the mother of Tlepolemus by Hercules was not Astyoche but Astydamia.

<sup>2</sup> The sons referred to are those whom Hercules had by the fifty daughters of Thespius. See Apollodorus, ii. 4. 10. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 29, who says that two (not three) of these sons of Hercules remained in Thebes, and that their descendants were honoured down to the historian's time. He informs us also that, on account of the youth of Hercules committed the leadership of the colony to Iolaus. As to the Sardinian colony see also 29. 5, vii. 2. 2, ix. 23. 1, x. 17. 5, who says

And Hercules marched with the Calydonians against the Thesprotians, and having taken the city of Ephyra, of which Phylas was king, he had intercourse with the king's daughter Astyoche, and became the father of Tlepolemus.<sup>1</sup> While he stayed among them, he sent word to Thespius to keep seven of his sons, to send three to Thebes and to despatch the remaining forty to the island of Sardinia to plant a colony.<sup>2</sup> After these events, as he was feasting with Oeneus, he killed with a blow of his knuckles Eunomus, son of Architeles, when the lad was pouring water on his hands; now the lad was a kinsman of Oeneus.<sup>3</sup> Seeing that it was an accident,

(x. 17. 5) that there were still places called Iolaia in Sardinia, and that Iolaus was still worshipped by the inhabitants down to his own time. As the Pseudo-Aristotle (*Mirab. Auscult.* 100, p. 31, in Westermann's *Scriptores rerum mirabilium Graeci*) tells us that the works ascribed to Iolaus included round buildings finely built of masonry in the ancient Greek style, we can hardly doubt that the reference is to the remarkable prehistoric round towers which are still found in the island, and to which nothing exactly similar is known elsewhere. The natives call them *nouraghes*. They are built in the form of truncated cones, and their material consists of squared or rough blocks of stone, sometimes of enormous size. See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, iv. 22 *sqq.* The Sardinian Iolaus was probably a native god or hero, whom the Greeks identified with their own Iolaus on account of the similarity of his name. It has been surmised that he was of Phoenician origin, being identical with Esmun. See W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* (Leipsic, 1911), pp. 282 *sqq.*

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 2; Pausanias, ii. 13. 8; Athenaeus, ix. 80, pp. 410 F-411 A; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 456 *sq.* From Athenaeus (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told or alluded to by Hellanicus, Herodorus, and Nicander. The victim's name is variously given as Eunomus, Ennomus, Eurynomus, Archias, Cherias,



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γεγεννημένου τοῦ συμβεβηκότος, συνεγνωμένοι, Ἑρακλῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν φυγὴν ὑπομένειν ἤθελε, καὶ διέγνω<sup>1</sup> πρὸς Κήυκα εἰς Τραχίνα ἀπιέναι. ἄγων δὲ Δηιάνειραν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Εὐηνον ἤκεν, ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος Νέσσος ὁ Κένταυρος τοὺς παριόντας<sup>2</sup> διεπόρθμευε μισθοῦ, λέγων παρὰ θεῶν τὴν πορθμείαν εἰληφέναι διὰ δικαιοσύνην.<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν Ἑρακλῆς τὸν ποταμὸν διέβη,<sup>4</sup> Δηιάνειραν δὲ μισθὸν αἰτηθεὶς ἐπέτρεψε Νέσσω<sup>5</sup> διακομίζειν. ὁ δὲ διαπορθμύων αὐτὴν ἐπεχειρεῖ βιάζεσθαι. τῆς δὲ ἀνακραγούσης αἰσθόμενος Ἑρακλῆς ἐξελθόντα Νέσσον ἐτόξευσεν εἰς τὴν καρδίαν. ὁ δὲ μέλλων τελευτᾶν προσκαλεσάμενος Δηιάνειραν εἶπεν, εἰ θέλοι φίλτρον πρὸς Ἑρακλέα ἔχειν, τὸν τε γόνον οὐν ἀφήκε κατὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὸ ῥυὲν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος τῆς ἀκίδος αἷμα συμμίζει. ἡ δὲ ποιήσασα τοῦτο ἐφύλαττε παρ' ἑαυτῆς.

7 Διεξιὼν δὲ Ἑρακλῆς τὴν Δρυόπων χώραν, ἀπορῶν τροφῆς,<sup>6</sup> ὑπαντήσαντος<sup>7</sup> Θειοδάμαντος

<sup>1</sup> διέγνω Commelinus: δὴ ἔγνω A, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>2</sup> παριόντας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Aegius: παραπλέοντας A, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*.

<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὸ δίκαιος εἶναι *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>4</sup> διέβη *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Heyne, Müller: διήει EA, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπέτρεψε Νέσσω E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: ἐπέτρεψεν ἔσω R<sup>a</sup>B.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορῶν *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>7</sup> ὑπαντήσαντος *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

us. He was cupbearer to Oeneus, the father-in-law  
The scene of the tragedy seems to have been  
set at Calydon, of which Oeneus was king (Apollo-  
), but Pausanias transfers the scene to Phlius.

the lad's father pardoned Hercules; but Hercules wished, in accordance with the law, to suffer the penalty of exile, and resolved to depart to Ceyx at Trachis. And taking Deianira with him, he came to the river Evenus, at which the centaur Nessus sat and ferried passengers across for hire,<sup>1</sup> alleging that he had received the ferry from the gods for his righteousness. So Hercules crossed the river by himself, but on being asked to pay the fare he entrusted Deianira to Nessus to carry over. But he, in ferrying her across, attempted to violate her. She cried out, Hercules heard her, and shot Nessus to the heart when he emerged from the river. Being at the point of death, Nessus called Deianira to him and said that if she would have a love charm to operate on Hercules she should mix the seed he had dropped on the ground with the blood that flowed from the wound inflicted by the barb. She did so and kept it by her.

Going through the country of the Dryopes and being in lack of food, Hercules met Thiodamas

<sup>1</sup> As to Hercules and Nessus, and the fatal affray at the ferry, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 555 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 3 *sqq.*; Strabo, x. 2. 5, p. 451; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lx.; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, ii. 2. 15 *sq.*; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 8. p. 371; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; *id. Chiliades*, ii. 457 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 101 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 34; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xi. 235; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 20 *sq.*, 131 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). The tale was told by Archilochus (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212). Apollodorus's version of the story is copied, with a few verbal changes and omissions, by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), but as usual without acknowledgment.

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βοηλατοῦντος τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων λύσας καὶ σφάξας<sup>1</sup> εὐωχῆσατο.<sup>2</sup> ὡς δὲ ἦλθεν<sup>3</sup> εἰς Τραχίνα πρὸς Κήυκα, ὑποδεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Δρύοπας κατεπολέμησεν.

Αὐθις δὲ ἐκεῖθεν ὄρμηθεις Αἰγίμῳ βασιλεῖ Δωριέων συνεμάχησε. Λαπίθαι γὰρ περὶ γῆς ὄρων ἐπολέμουν αὐτῷ Κορώνου στρατηγούντος, ὁ δὲ πολιορκούμενος ἐπεκαλέσατο τὸν Ἡρακλέα βοηθὸν ἐπὶ μέρει τῆς γῆς. βοηθήσας δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπέκτεινε Κόρωνον μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ τὴν γῆν ἅπασαν παρέδωκεν ἐλευθέραν αὐτῷ. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ Λαογόραν<sup>4</sup> μετὰ τῶν τέκνων, βασιλέα Δρυόπων, ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τεμένει δαινύμενον, ὑβριστὴν ὄντα καὶ Λαπιθῶν σύμμαχον. παριόντα δὲ Ἴτωνον<sup>5</sup> εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκαλέ-

<sup>1</sup> λύσας καὶ σφάξας *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: λύσας EA, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: θύσας Wagner (comparing Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212, θύσας εὐωχεῖτο).

<sup>2</sup> εὐωχῆσατο E: εὐωχεῖτο *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212.

<sup>3</sup> ἦκεν *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>4</sup> Λαογόραν R, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 466, Aegius: λαγόραν A.

<sup>5</sup> Ἴτωνον Müller, Wagner (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 4; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἴτων): Ἴων A: Ἴτωνα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Bekker, Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> As to Hercules and Thiodamas, compare Callimachus, *Hymn to Diana*, 160 sq., with the Scholiast on 161 (who calls Thiodamas king of the Dryopians); Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 6, pp. 370 sq.; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 464 sq. From the Scholiast on Apollonius (*l.c.*), we learn that the tale was told by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may here be following. The story

driving a pair of bullocks; so he unloosed and slaughtered one of the bullocks and feasted.<sup>1</sup> And when he came to Ceyx at Trachis he was received by him and conquered the Dryopes.<sup>2</sup>

And afterwards setting out from there, he fought as an ally of Aegimius, king of the Dorians.<sup>3</sup> For the Lapiths, commanded by Coronus, made war on him in a dispute about the boundaries of the country; and being besieged he called in the help of Hercules, offering him a share of the country. So Hercules came to his help and slew Coronus and others, and handed the whole country over to Aegimius free. He slew also Laogoras,<sup>4</sup> king of the Dryopes, with his children, as he was banqueting in a precinct of Apollo; for the king was a wanton fellow and an ally of the Lapiths. And as he passed by Itonus he was

seems to be a doublet of the one told about Hercules at Lindus in Rhodes. See Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11, with the note.

<sup>2</sup> On the reception of Hercules by Ceyx, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 36. 5; Pausanias, i. 32. 6. As to the conquest of the Dryopians by Hercules, see Herodotus, viii. 43, compare 73; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1 *sq.*; Strabo, viii. 6. 13, p. 373; Pausanias, iv. 34. 9 *sq.*; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxix. 6, p. 371; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 1212, 1218. From these accounts we gather that the Dryopians were a wild robber tribe, whose original home was in the fastnesses of Mount Parnassus. Driven from there by the advance of the Dorians, they dispersed and settled, some in Thessaly, some in Euboea, some in Peloponnese, and some even in Cyprus. Down to the second century of our era the descendants of the Dryopians maintained their national or tribal traditions and pride of birth at Asine, on the coast of Messenia (Pausanias, *l.c.*).

<sup>3</sup> On the war which Hercules, in alliance with Aegimius, king of the Dorians, waged with the Lapiths, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 3 *sq.*

<sup>4</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 466.

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σατο αὐτὸν Κύκνος Ἄρεος καὶ Πελοπίας· συ-  
στάς δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν. ὡς δὲ εἰς Ὀρμέ-  
νιον<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν, Ἄμύντωρ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μεθ'  
ὄπλων<sup>2</sup> οὐκ εἶα διέρχεσθαι· κωλυόμενος δὲ παρ-  
ιέναι καὶ τοῦτον ἀπέκτεινεν.

Ἄφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Τραχίνα στρατιὰν ἐπ' Οἰ-  
χαλίαν συνήθροισεν,<sup>3</sup> Εὐρυτον τιμωρήσασθαι  
θέλων. συμμαχοῦντων δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀρκάδων καὶ  
Μηλιέων<sup>4</sup> τῶν ἐκ Τραχίνος καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν  
Ἐπικνημιδίων, κτείνας μετὰ τῶν παίδων Εὐρυτον

<sup>1</sup> Ὀρμένιον Wesseling: ὄρχομενὸν A.

<sup>2</sup> μεθ' ὄπλων R, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: appa-  
rently omitted in other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> συνήθροισεν E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: συνή-  
θροισεν A.

<sup>4</sup> Μηλιέων *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae, Aegius*:  
μηνιέων A.

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<sup>1</sup> On the combat of Hercules with Cycnus, see Hesiod, *Shield of Hercules*, 57 sqq.; Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 82 (147), with the Scholium, x. 15 (19), with the Scholia; Euripides, *Hercules furens*, 391 sqq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 11; Pausanias, i. 27. 6; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 467. It is said that Cycnus used to cut off the heads of passing strangers, intending with these gory trophies to build a temple to his father Ares. This we learn from the Scholiasts on Pindar (*U.c.*). The scene of his exploits was Thessaly. According to Pausanias (*l.c.*), Hercules slew the ruffian on the banks of the Peneus river; but Hesiod places the scene at Pagasæ, and says that the grave of Cycnus was washed away by the river Anaurus, a small stream which flows into the Pagasæan gulf. See *Shield of Hercules*, 70 sqq., 472 sqq. The story of Cycnus was told in a poem of Stesichorus. See Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* x. 15 (19). For the combat of Hercules with another Cycnus, see Apollodorus, ii. 5. 11.

<sup>2</sup> It is said that the king refused to give his daughter Astydamia in marriage to Hercules. So Hercules killed him, took Astydamia by force, and had a son Ctesippus by her. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 4. Ormenium was a small town  
foot of Mount Pelion. See Strabo, ix. 5. 18, p. 438.

challenged to single combat by Cycnus a son of Ares and Pelopia; and closing with him Hercules slew him also.<sup>1</sup> But when he was come to Ormenium, king Amyntor took arms and forbade him to march through; but when he would have hindered his passage, Hercules slew him also.<sup>2</sup>

On his arrival at Trachis he mustered an army to attack Oechalia, wishing to punish Eurytus.<sup>3</sup> Being joined by Arcadians, Melians from Trachis, and Epicnemidian Locrians, he slew Eurytus and his sons

<sup>3</sup> Eurytus was the king of Oechalia. See Apollodorus, ii. 6. 1 *sq.* As to the capture of Oechalia by Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 351-365, 476-478; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 5; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 33; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 469 *sq.*; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 392; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 545; Hyginus, *Fab.* 35; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 291; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 129 *sq.*, 131 *sq.* (Second Vatican Mythographer, 159, 165). The situation of Oechalia, the city of Eurytus, was much debated. Homer seems to place it in Thessaly (*Il.* ii. 730). But according to others it was in Euboea, or Arcadia, or Messenia. See Strabo, ix. 5. 17, p. 438; Pausanias, iv. 2. 2 *sq.*; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 87; the Second Vatican Mythographer, 165. Apollodorus apparently placed it in Euboea. See above, ii. 6. 1 *sq.* There was an ancient epic called *The Capture of Oechalia*, which was commonly attributed to Creophilus of Samos, though some thought it was by Homer. See Strabo, xiv. 1, 18, pp. 638 *sq.*; compare *id.*, ix. 5. 17, p. 438; Pausanias, iv. 2. 3 (who calls the poem *Heraclea*); Callimachus, *Epigram.* vi. (vii.); *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 60 *sqq.*; F. G. Welcker, *Der epische Cyclus* (Bonn, 1835), pp. 229 *sqq.* As to the names of the sons of Eurytus, see the Scholiast on Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 266. He quotes a passage from a lost poem of Hesiod in which the poet mentions Deion, Clytius, Toxeus, and Iphitus as the sons, and Iola (Iole) as the daughter of Eurytus. The Scholiast adds that according to Creophilus and Aristocrates the names of the sons were Toxeus, Clytius, and Deion. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 37. 5) calls the sons Toxeus, Molion, and Clytius.

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αἰρεῖ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ θάψας τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ στρατευσαμένων<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, Ἴππασόν τε τὸν Κήυκος καὶ Ἀργεῖον καὶ Μέλανα τοὺς Λικυμνίου παῖδας, καὶ λαφυραγωγῆσας τὴν πόλιν, ἤγεεν Ἴόλην αἰχμάλωτον. καὶ προσορμισθεὶς<sup>2</sup> Κηναίῳ τῆς Εὐβοίας ἀκρωτηρίῳ<sup>3</sup> Διὸς Κηναίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο. μέλλων δὲ ἱερούργειν εἰς Τραχίνα <Λίχαν> τὸν κήρυκα<sup>4</sup> ἔπεμψε λαμπρὰν

<sup>1</sup> στρατευσαμένων *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: στρατευομένων A, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> προσορμισθεὶς E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: προσορμηθεὶς A.

<sup>3</sup> ἀκρωτηρίῳ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Bekker, Hercher, approved by Heyne: ἐπὶ ἀκρωτήριον A: ἐπ' ἀκρωτηρίῳ Heyne (in the text), Westermann, Müller: ἐπὶ ἀκρωτηρίου Wagner: ἐπὶ ἀκροπολέως E.

<sup>4</sup> Λίχαν τὸν κήρυκα Sommer, Wagner: τὸν κήρυκα E: τὸν κήρυκα A: κήρυκα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: Λίχαν τὸν ὑπηρέτην Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 1: τὸν Λίχαν τὸν θεράποντα Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, ii. 473.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 237 sq., 752 sqq., 993 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 5; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 136 sq.; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 102 sq., 782 sqq. Cænæum is the modern Cape Lithada, the extreme north-western point of Euboea. It is a low flat promontory, terminating a peninsula which runs far out westward into the sea, as if to meet the opposite coast of Locris. But while the cape is low and flat, the greater part of the peninsula is occupied by steep, rugged, and barren mountains, overgrown generally with lentisk and other shrubs, and presenting in their bareness and aridity a strong contrast to the beautiful woods and rich vegetation which clothe much of northern Euboea, especially in the valleys and glens. But if the mountains themselves are gaunt and bare, the prospect from their summits is glorious, stretching over the sea which washes the sides of the peninsula, and across it to the long line of blue mountains which bound, as in a vast amphitheatre, the horizon on the north, the west, and the south. These blue

and took the city. After burying those of his own side who had fallen, to wit, Hippasus, son of Ceyx, and Argius and Melas, the sons of Licymnius, he pillaged the city and led Iole captive. And having put in at Cenaeum, a headland of Euboea, he built an altar of Cenaeon Zeus.<sup>1</sup> Intending to offer sacrifice, he sent the herald Lichas to Trachis to fetch fine raiment.<sup>2</sup>

mountains are in Magnesia, Phthiotis, and Locris. At their foot the whole valley of the Spercheus lies open to view. The sanctuary of Zeus, at which Hercules is said to have offered his famous sacrifice, was probably at "the steep city of Dium," as Homer calls it (*Il.* ii. 538), which may have occupied the site of the modern Lithada, a village situated high up on the western face of the mountains, embowered in tall olives, pomegranates, mulberries, and other trees, and supplied with abundance of flowing water. The inhabitants say that a great city once stood here, and the heaps of stones, many of them presenting the aspect of artificial mounds, may perhaps support, if they did not suggest, the tradition. See W. Vischer, *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* (Bâle, 1857), pp. 659-661; H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, ii. (Berlin, 1863), pp. 236 sq.; C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, ii. 409 sq. At Dium (Lithada?), in a spot named after a church of St. Constantine, the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct, with a circular base of three steps at the east end, have been observed in recent years. These ruins may be the remains of the sanctuary of Caenean Zeus. See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 123, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> With this and what follows compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 756 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 1 sq.; J. Tzetzes, *Chilades*, ii. 472 sqq.; *id.* *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 136 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 485 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). The following passage of Apollodorus, down to and including the ascension of Hercules to heaven, is copied verbally, with a few unimportant omissions and changes, by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), but as usual without acknowledgment.



## APOLLODORUS

ἔσθῆτα οἴσονται. παρὰ δὲ τούτου τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἰόλην Δηιάνειρα πυθομένη,<sup>1</sup> καὶ δέισασα μὴ ἐκείνην μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσῃ,<sup>2</sup> νομίσασα ταῖς ἀληθείαις<sup>3</sup> φίλτρον εἶναι τὸ ῥυέν αἷμα Νέσσου, τούτῳ τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχρισεν. ἐνδὺς δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἔθυσεν. ὡς δὲ θερμανθέντος τοῦ χιτῶνος ὁ τῆς ὕδρας ἰὸς τὸν χρώτα ἔσηπε, τὸν μὲν Λίχαν τῶν ποδῶν ἀράμενος κατηκόντισεν ἀπὸ τῆς †Βοιωτίας,<sup>4</sup> τὸν δὲ χιτῶνα ἀπέσπα προσπεφυκότα τῷ σώματι· συναπεσπῶντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σάρκες αὐτοῦ. τοιαύτη συμφορὰ κατασχεθεῖς εἰς Τραχίνα ἐπι νεῶς κομίζεται. Δηιάνειρα δὲ αἰσθομένη τὸ γεγονός ἐαυτὴν ἀνήρτησεν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἐντειλάμενος Ἰλλῶ, ὃς ἐκ Δηιανείρας ἦν αὐτῷ παῖς πρεσβύτερος, Ἰόλην ἀνδρωθέντα γῆμαι, παρα-

<sup>1</sup> πυθομένη E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*: πυθανομένη R.

<sup>2</sup> μὴ ἐκείνην μᾶλλον ἀγαπήσῃ E, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: μὴ πάλιν ἐκείνην ἀγαπήσῃ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>3</sup> ταῖς ἀληθείαις E, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: τῇ ἀληθείᾳ *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας EA. The words are clearly corrupt. Various emendations have been proposed: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωρίας Heyne: ἀπὸ τῆς παρωρίας Westermann: ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπολέως Wagner (comparing iii. 5. 8). We should perhaps read ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρωτηρίου, comparing ἀκρωτηρίῳ above. I have translated accordingly. Commelinus and Gale add the words εἰς τὴν Εὐβοικὴν θάλασσαν in brackets. This may possibly be the true reading. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph. ix. 21 sq*:

“*Corripit Alcides, et terque quaterque rotatum  
Mittit in Euboicas tormento fortius undas.*”

Ovid is followed by the Vatican Mythographers (“*in Euboicas projecit undas*,” “*Euboico mari immersit*”). See *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). Hercher omits the words ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας and inserts the words εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, alleging the authority of the *Argument to the Trachiniae* of Sophocles, where, however, the words do not occur.

From him Deianira learned about Iole, and fearing that Hercules might love that damsel more than herself, she supposed that the spilt blood of Nessus was in truth a love-charm, and with it she smeared the tunic.<sup>1</sup> So Hercules put it on and proceeded to offer sacrifice. But no sooner was the tunic warmed than the poison of the hydra began to corrode his skin; and on that he lifted Lichas by the feet, hurled him down from the headland,<sup>2</sup> and tore off the tunic, which clung to his body, so that his flesh was torn away with it. In such a sad plight he was carried on shipboard to Trachis: and Deianira, on learning what had happened, hanged herself.<sup>3</sup> But Hercules, after charging Hyllus his elder son by Deianira, to marry Iole when he came of age,<sup>4</sup> proceeded to Mount

<sup>1</sup> That is, the "fine raiment" which Lichas had fetched from Trachis for the use of Hercules at the sacrifice.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is uncertain. See the critical note.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 3. According to Sophocles (*Trachiniae*, 930 sq.). Deianira stabbed herself with a sword. But hanging was the favourite mode of suicide adopted by Greek legendary heroines, as by Jocasta, Erigone, Phaedra, and Oenone. See Apollodorus, i. 8. 3, i. 9. 27, iii. 5. 9, iii. 12. 6, iii. 13. 3, iii. 14. 7, *Epitome*, i. 19. It does not seem to have been practised by men.

<sup>4</sup> For this dying charge of Hercules, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1216 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 278 sqq. It is remarkable that Hercules should be represented as so earnestly desiring that his concubine should become the wife of his eldest son by Deianira. In many polygamous tribes of Africa it is customary for the eldest son to inherit all his father's wives, except his own mother. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 541, note 3, ii. 280. Absalom's treatment of his father's concubines (2 Samuel, xvi. 21 sq.) suggests that a similar custom formerly obtained in Israel. I do not remember to have met with any other seeming trace of a similar practice in Greece.

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γενόμενος εἰς Οἶτην ὄρος (ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Τρα-  
 χινίων), ἐκεῖ πυρὰν ποιήσας ἐκέλευσεν<sup>1</sup> ἐπιβὰς<sup>2</sup>  
 ὑφάπτειν. μηδενὸς δὲ τοῦτο πράττειν ἐθέλοντος,  
 Ποίας παριῶν κατὰ ζήτησιν ποιμνίων ὑφῆψε.  
 τούτῳ καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐδώρησατο Ἑρακλῆς. καιο-  
 μένης δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς λέγεται νέφος ὑποστὰν μετὰ  
 βροντῆς αὐτὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμψαι. ἐκεῖθεν<sup>3</sup>  
 δὲ τυχὼν ἀθανασίας καὶ διαλλαγῆς Ἥρα τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευσεν E, *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: ἐκέλευε A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιβὰς *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*, Zenobius, *Cent. i. 33*: ἐπιβάντος EA.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκεῖθεν E, and apparently all MSS.: ἐνθα *Argument of Sophocles, Trachiniae*. For ἐκεῖθεν we should perhaps read ἐκεῖ.

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<sup>1</sup> For the death of Hercules on the pyre, see Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 1191 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 38. 3-8; Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 7; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 229 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 36; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1483 *sqq.*; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 300; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 21, 132 (First Vatican Mythographer, 58; Second Vatican Mythographer, 165). According to the usual account, it was not Poeas but his son Philoctetes who set a light to the pyre. So Diodorus Siculus (iv. 38. 4), Lucian (*De morte Peregrini*, 21), Ovid (*Metamorph.* ix. 233 *sq.*), Hyginus (*Fab.* 36), Seneca (*Hercules Oetaeus*, 1485 *sqq.*, 1727), and the Second Vatican Mythographer. According to a different and less famous version of the legend, Hercules was not burned to death on a pyre, but, tortured by the agony of the poisoned robe, which took fire in the sun, he flung himself into a neighbouring stream to ease his pain and was drowned. The waters of the stream have been hot ever since, and are called Thermopylae. See Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, xxviii. 8; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 50-51. Nonnus expressly says that the poisoned tunic took fire and burned Hercules. That it was thought to be kindled by exposure to the heat

Oeta, in the Trachinian territory, and there constructed a pyre,<sup>1</sup> mounted it, and gave orders to kindle it. When no one would do so, P'oeas, passing by to look for his flocks, set a light to it. On him Hercules bestowed his bow. While the pyre was burning, it is said that a cloud passed under Hercules and with a peal of thunder wafted him up to heaven.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter he obtained immortality, and being reconciled to Hera he married her daughter

of the sun appears from the narrative of Hyginus (*Fab.* 36); compare Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, 684-704; Seneca, *Hercules Oetaeus*, 485 *sqq.*, 716 *sqq.* The waters of Thermopylae are steaming hot to this day. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 210 *sq.* The Vatican Mythographers, perhaps through the blunder of a copyist, transfer the death of Hercules from Mount Oeta to Mount Etna.

<sup>2</sup> The ascension of Hercules to heaven in a cloud is described also by Zenobius (*Cent.* i. 33), who copies Apollodorus. In a more sceptical vein Diodorus Siculus (iv. 38. 4) relates that, as soon as a light was set to the pyre, a thunderstorm burst, and that when the friends of the hero came to collect his bones they could find none, and therefore supposed he had been translated to the gods. As to the traditional mode of Hercules's death, compare Alberuni's *India*, English ed. by E. C. Sachau, ii. 168: "Galenus says in his commentary to the apothegms of Hippocrates: 'It is generally known that Asclepius was raised to the angels in a column of fire, the like of which is also related with regard to Dionysos, Heracles, and others, who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal and earthly part of them by the fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven.'" So Lucian speaks of Hercules becoming a god in the burning pile on Mount Oeta, the human element in him, which he had inherited from his mortal mother, being purged away in the flames, while the divine element ascended pure and spotless to the gods. See Lucian, *Hermotimus*, 7. The notion that fire separates the immortal from the mortal element in man has already met us in Apollodorus. See i. 5. 4.

APOLLODORUS

ἐκείνης θυγατέρα Ἥβην ἔγημεν, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῶ  
παῖδες Ἀλεξιάρης καὶ Ἀνίκητος ἐγένοντο.

- 8 Ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῶ ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θεσπίου<sup>1</sup>  
θυγατέρων, Πρόκριδος μὲν Ἀντιλέων καὶ Ἴππεύς  
(ἢ πρεσβυτάτη γὰρ διδύμους ἐγέννησε), Πανόπης  
δὲ Θρεψίππας, Λύσης Εὐμήδης,<sup>2</sup> . . . Κρέων,  
Ἐπιλαΐδος Ἀστυάναξ, Κέρθης Ἰόβης, Εὐρυβίας  
Πολύλαος, Πατροῦς Ἀρχέμαχος, Μηλίνης Λαο-  
μέδων, Κλυτίππης Εὐρύκαππος, Εὐρύπυλος Εὐ-  
βώτης, Ἀγλαΐης Ἀντιάδης, Ὀνήσιππος Χρυσ-  
ηίδος, Ὀρείης Λαομένης, Τέλης Λυσιδίκης,  
Ἐντελίδης Μενιππίδος,<sup>3</sup> Ἀνθίππης Ἴπποδρόμος,  
Τελευταγόρας Εὐρυ . . . , Καπύλος<sup>4</sup> Ἴππωτος,<sup>5</sup>  
Εὐβοίας Ὀλυμπος, Νίκης Νικόδρομος, Ἀργέλης  
Κλεόλαος, Ἐξόλης Ἐρύθρας, Ξανθίδος Ὀμόλιπ-  
πος, Στρατοῦκῆς Ἄτρομος, Κελευστάνωρ Ἴφιδος,<sup>6</sup>  
Λαοθόης Ἀντιφος,<sup>7</sup> Ἀντιόπης<sup>8</sup> Ἀλόπιος, Ἀστυ-  
βίης Καλαμήτιδος,<sup>9</sup> Φυληίδος Τίγασις, Αἰσ-  
χρηίδος Λευκώνης, Ἀνθείας . . . , Εὐρυπύλης  
Ἀρχέδικος, Δυνάστης Ἐρατοῦς,<sup>10</sup> Ἀσωπίδος<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Θεσπίου Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher,  
Wagner: Θεστίου EA. See above, note on ii. 4. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Εὐμήδης R: εὐμίδης A: Εὐμείδης Heyne.

<sup>3</sup> Ἐντελίδης Μενιππίδος C. Keil: στεντεδίδης μενιππίδης A.

<sup>4</sup> Εὐρυ . . . , Καπύλος. The manuscripts (A) read εὐρυ-  
κάπυλος. Commelinus conjectured Εὐρύκης· Πύλος, which is  
accepted by Heyne, Westermann, Müller (conjecturing  
Πύλης). Wagner conjectured Εὐρύτης.

<sup>5</sup> Ἴππωτος A: Ἴππότης Heyne: Ἴππόθοος Faber: Ἴππους  
Hercher. <sup>6</sup> Ἴφιδος Heyne: Ἴφισ A.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀντιφος Heyne: Ἀντίδος A.

<sup>8</sup> Ἀντιόπης Heyne: Ἀντιώπης A.

<sup>9</sup> Καλαμήτιδος Heyne: κλααμήτιδος RR<sup>a</sup>C: κλαμήτιδος B:  
κάλης μήτιδος Commelinus: καλλιδημίδης Hercher.

<sup>10</sup> Ἐρατοῦς Aegius: Ἐρατος A.

<sup>11</sup> Ἀσωπίδος Heyne: Ἀσωπίδης A.

Hebe,<sup>1</sup> by whom he had sons, Alexiars and Anicetus.

And he had sons by the daughters of Thespius,<sup>2</sup> to wit: by Procris he had Antileon and Hippeus (for the eldest daughter bore twins); by Panope he had Threpsippas; by Lyse he had Eumedes; . . . he had Creon; by Epilais he had Astyanax; by Certhe he had Iobes; by Eurybia he had Polylaus; by Patro he had Archemachus; by Meline he had Laomedon; by Clytippe he had Eurycapys; by Eubote he had Eurypylus; by Aglaia he had Antiades; by Chryseis he had Onesippus; by Oria he had Laomenes; by Lysidice he had Teles; by Menippis he had Entelides; by Anthippe he had Hippodromus; by Eury . . . he had Teleutagoras; by Hippo he had Capylus; by Euboea he had Olympus; by Nice he had Nicodromus; by Argele he had Cleolaus; by Exole he had Eurythras; by Xanthis he had Homolippus; by Stratonice he had Atromus; by Iphis he had Celeustanor; by Laothoe he had Antiphus; by Antiope he had Alopius; by Calametis he had Astybies; by Phyleis he had Tigasis, by Aeschreis he had Leucones; by Anthea . . . ; by Eurypyle he had Archedicus; by Erato he had Dynastes; by Asopis he had Mentor;

<sup>1</sup> On the marriage of Hercules with Hebe, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 602 *sqq.*; Hesiod, *Theog.* 950 *sqq.*; Pindar, *Nem.* i. 69 (104) *sqq.*, x. 17 (30) *sq.*, *Isthm.* iv. 59 (100); Euripides, *Heracidae*, 915 *sq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1349, 1350; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 400 *sq.* According to Euripides (*Heracidae*, 854 *sqq.*), at the battle which the Athenians fought with the Argives in defence of the Heraclids, two stars were seen shining brightly on the car of Iolaus, and the diviner interpreted them as Hercules and Hebe.

<sup>2</sup> A short list of the sons of Hercules is given by Hyginus, *Fab.* 162. As to the daughters of Thespius, see above, ii. 4. 10.

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Μέντωρ, Ἡώνης Ἀμήστριος, Τιφύσης Λυγκαῖος,<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἄλοκράτης Ὀλυμπούσης, Ἐλικωνίδος Φαλίας,  
 Ἡσυχείης Οἰστρόβλης,<sup>2</sup> Τερψικράτης Εὐρυόπης,<sup>3</sup>  
 Ἐλαχείας<sup>4</sup> Βουλεύς, Ἀντίμαχος Νικίππης, Πάτ-  
 ροκλος Πυρίππης, Νήφος Πραξιθέας, Λυσίππης  
 Ἐράσιππος, Λυκοῦργος<sup>5</sup> Τοξικράτης, Βουκόλος  
 Μάρσης, Λεύκιππος Εὐρυτέλης, Ἴπποκράτης  
 Ἴππόζυγος. οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπίου<sup>6</sup> θυγα-  
 τέρων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, Δηιανείρας <μὲν><sup>7</sup> τῆς  
 Οἰνέως Ἰλλος Κτήσιππος Γληνὸς Ὀνειίτης,<sup>8</sup> ἐκ  
 Μεγάρων δὲ τῆς Κρέοντος Θηρίμαχος Δηικῶν  
 Κρεοντιάδης, ἐξ Ὀμφάλης δὲ Ἀγέλαος, ὅθεν καὶ  
 τὸ Κροίσου<sup>9</sup> γένος. Χαλκιοῦσης <δὲ><sup>10</sup> τῆς Εὐρυ-

<sup>1</sup> Λυγκαῖος A, Westermann: Λυγκεὺς Heyne, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> Οἰστρόβλης L. Dindorf: οἰστρέβλης A.

<sup>3</sup> Εὐρύωψ Heyne, Müller.

<sup>4</sup> Ἐλαχείας Heyne, Bekker: ἔλευχείας A, Westermann, Müller: Λοχίας Hercher.

<sup>5</sup> Λυκοῦργος Hercher, Wagner. The MSS. (A) add λύκιος, which Heyne proposed to omit. Westermann reads Λυκοῦργος\*, Λύκιος Τοξικράτης, supposing that the name of Lycurgus's mother is lost, and that Lycius was the son of Toxicrate. Müller edits the passage similarly. Bekker brackets Λύκιος.

<sup>6</sup> Θεσπίου Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: θεσπίου A. <sup>7</sup> μὲν inserted by Heyne.

<sup>8</sup> Γληνὸς Ὀνειίτης Gale: γληκισονειίτης A: Γληνεὺς Ὀδίτης Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Κροίσου Aegius: κρησίου A. <sup>10</sup> δὲ inserted by Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 37. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Compare ii. 4. 11; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 269, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the names of the children

by Eone he had Amestrius ; by Tiphys he had Lyncaeus ; by Olympusa he had Halocrates ; by Heliconis he had Phalias ; by Hesychia he had Oestrobles ; by Terpsicrate he had Euryopes ; by Elachia he had Buleus ; by Nicippe he had Antimachus ; by Pyrippe he had Patroclus ; by Praxithea he had Nephus ; by Lysippe he had Erasippus ; by Toxicrate he had Lycurgus ; by Marse he had Bucolus ; by Eurytele he had Leucippus ; by Hippocrate he had Hippozygus. These he had by the daughters of Thespius. And he had sons by other women : by Deianira, daughter of Oeneus, he had Hyllus, Ctesippus, Glenus and Onites ;<sup>1</sup> by Megara, daughter of Creon, he had Therimachus, Deicoön, and Creontiades ;<sup>2</sup> by Omphale he had Agelaus,<sup>3</sup> from whom the family of Croesus was descended ;<sup>4</sup> by Chalciope, daughter

whom Hercules had by Megara. But other writers gave different lists. Dinius the Argive, for example, gave the three names mentioned by Apollodorus, but added to them Deion. See the Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm.* v. 61 (104).

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus Siculus (iv. 31. 8) and Ovid (*Heroides*, ix. 53 sq.) give Lamus as the name of the son whom Omphale bore to Hercules.

<sup>4</sup> According to Herodotus (i. 7) the dynasty which preceded that of Croesus on the throne of Sardes traced their descent from Alcaeus, the son of Hercules by a slave girl. It is a curious coincidence that Croesus, like his predecessor or ancestor Hercules, is said to have attempted to burn himself on a pyre when the Persians captured Sardes. See Bacchylides, iii. 24-62. The tradition is supported by the representation of the scene on a red-figured vase, which may have been painted about forty years after the capture of Sardes and the death or captivity of Croesus. See Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, ii. 796, fig. 860. Compare *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 174 sqq. The Hercules whom Greek tradition associated with Omphale was probably an Oriental deity identical with the Sandan of Tarsus. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 124 sqq.



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πύλου<sup>1</sup> Θετταλός, Ἐπικάστης τῆς Αὐγέου<sup>2</sup> Θεσ-  
τάλος, Παρθενόπης τῆς Στυμφάλου Εὐήρης, Αἴγης  
τῆς Ἀλεοῦ Τήλεφος, Ἀστυόχης τῆς Φύλαντος  
Τληπόλεμος, Ἀστυδαμείας τῆς Ἀμύντορος Κτή-  
σιππος, Αὐτονόης τῆς Πειρέως Παλαίμων.

VIII. Μεταστάντος δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἰς θεοὺς οἱ  
παῖδες αὐτοῦ φυγόντες Εὐρυσθέα πρὸς Κήνκα  
παρεγένοντο. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνους ἐκδιδόναι λέγοντος  
Εὐρυσθέως καὶ πόλεμον ἀπειλοῦντος ἐδεδοίκεσαν,  
Τραχίνα καταλιπόντες διὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἔφυγον.  
διωκόμενοι δὲ ἦλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ καθεσθέντες  
ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέου βωμὸν ἠξίουں βοηθεῖσθαι. Ἀθηναῖοι  
δὲ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντες αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν Εὐρυσθέα  
πόλεμον ὑπέστησαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν παῖδας αὐτοῦ  
Ἀλέξανδρον Ἰφιμέδοντα Εὐρύβιον Μέντορα Πε-  
ριμήδην ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸν δὲ Εὐρυσθέα φεύγοντα  
ἐφ' ἄρματος καὶ πέτρας ἤδη παριππεύοντα Σκει-

<sup>1</sup> Εὐρυπύλου Aegius : Εὐρυπύλης A.

<sup>2</sup> Αὐγέου Heyne : αἰγέου A.

<sup>1</sup> See above, ii. 7. 4, and below, iii. 9. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, ii. 7. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ceyx, king of Trachis, who had given shelter and hospi-  
tality to Hercules. See above, ii. 7. 7. Compare Diodorus  
Siculus, iv. 57, who agrees with Apollodorus as to the threats  
of Eurystheus and the consequent flight of the children of  
Hercules from Trachis to Athens. According to Hecataeus,  
quoted by Longinus (*De sublimitate*, 27), king Ceyx ordered  
them out of the country, pleading his powerlessness to protect  
them. Compare Pausanias, i. 32. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Knights*, 1151, who  
mentions that the Heraclids took refuge at the altar of Mercy.  
As to the altar of Mercy see below, iii. 7. 1 note. Apollodorus  
has omitted a famous episode in the war which the Athenians  
waged with the Argives in defence of the children of Hercules.  
An oracle having declared that victory would rest with the

of Eurypylus, he had Thettalus; by Epicaste, daughter of Augeas, he had Thestalus; by Parthenope, daughter of Stymphalus, he had Everes; by Auge, daughter of Aleus, he had Telephus;<sup>1</sup> by Astyoche, daughter of Phylas, he had Tlepolemus;<sup>2</sup> by Astydamia, daughter of Amyntor, he had Ctesippus; by Autonoe, daughter of Pireus, he had Palaemon.

VIII. When Hercules had been translated to the gods, his sons fled from Eurystheus and came to Ceyx.<sup>3</sup> But when Eurystheus demanded their surrender and threatened war, they were afraid, and, quitting Trachis, fled through Greece. Being pursued, they came to Athens, and sitting down on the altar of Mercy, claimed protection.<sup>4</sup> Refusing to surrender them, the Athenians bore the brunt of war with Eurystheus, and slew his sons, Alexander, Iphimedon, Eurybius, Mentor and Perimedes. Eurystheus himself fled in a chariot, but was pursued and slain by Hyllus just as he was driving past the

Athenians if a high-born maiden were sacrificed to Persephone, a voluntary victim was found in the person of Macaria, daughter of Hercules, who gave herself freely to die for Athens. See Euripides, *Heraclidae*, 406 *sqq.*, 488 *sqq.*; Pausanias, i. 32. 6; Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 61; Timaeus, *Lexicon*, s.v. Βάλλ' εἰς μακαρίαν; Scholiast on Plato, *Hippias Major*, p. 293 A; Scholiast on Aristophanes, *l.c.* The protection afforded by Athens to the suppliant Heraclids was a subject of patriotic pride to the Athenians. See Lysias, ii. 11-16; Isocrates, *Panegyric*, 15 and 16. The story was told by Pherecydes, who represented Demophon, son of Theseus, as the protector of the Heraclids at Athens. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 33. In this he may have been followed by Euripides, who in his play on the subject introduces Demophon as king of Athens and champion of the Heraclids (*Heraclidae*, 111 *sqq.*). But, according to Pausanias (i. 32. 6), it was not Demophon but his father Theseus who received the refugees and declined to surrender them to Eurystheus.

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ρωνίδας<sup>1</sup> κτείνει διώξας Ἴλλος, καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν Ἀλκμήνῃ δίδωσιν· ἢ δὲ κερκίσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξώρυξεν αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Σχειρωνίδας E: χειρωνίδας A.

<sup>1</sup> Traditions varied concerning the death and burial of Eurystheus. Diodorus Siculus (iv. 57. 6), in agreement with Apollodorus, says that all the sons of Eurystheus were slain in the battle, and that the king himself, fleeing in his chariot, was killed by Hyllus, son of Hercules. According to Pausanias (i. 44. 9), the tomb of Eurystheus was near the Scironian Rocks, where he had been killed by Iolaus (not Hyllus) as he was fleeing home after the battle. According to Euripides, he was captured by Iolaus at the Scironian Rocks and carried a prisoner to Alcmena, who ordered him to execution, although the Athenians interceded for his life; and his body was buried before the sanctuary of Athena at Pallene, an Attic township situated between Athens and Marathon. See Euripides, *Heracleidae*, 843 *sqq.*, 928 *sqq.*, 1030 *sqq.* According to Strabo (viii. 6. 19, p. 377), Eurystheus marched against the Heraclids and Iolaus at Marathon; he fell in the battle, and his body was buried at Gargettus, but his head was cut off and buried separately in Tricorythus, under the high road, at the spring Macaria, and the place was hence called "the Head of Eurystheus." Thus Strabo lays the scene of the battle and of the death of Eurystheus at Marathon. From Pausanias (i. 32. 6) we know that the spring Macaria, named after the heroine who sacrificed herself to gain the victory for the Heraclids, was at Marathon. The name seems to have been applied to the powerful subterranean springs which form a great marsh at the northern end of the plain of Marathon. The ancient high road, under which the head of Eurystheus was buried, and of which traces existed down to modern times, here ran between the marsh on the one hand and the steep slope of the mountain on the other. At the northern end of the narrow defile thus formed by the marsh and the mountain stands the modern village of Kato-Souli, which is proved by inscriptions to have occupied the site of the ancient Tricorythus. See W. M. Leake, *The Demia of Athens*, 2nd ed. (London, 1841), pp. 95 *sq.*, and my commentary on Pausanias, vol. ii. pp. 432, 439 *sq.* But Pallene,

Scironian cliffs; and Hyllus cut off his head and gave it to Alcmena; and she gouged out his eyes with weaving-pins.<sup>1</sup>

at or near which, according to Euripides, the body of Eurystheus was buried, lay some eighteen miles or so away at the northern foot of Mount Hymettus, in the gap which divides the high and steep mountains of Pentelicus and Hymettus from each other. That gap, forming the only gateway into the plain of Athens from the north-east, was strategically very important, and hence was naturally the scene of various battles, legendary or historical. Gargettus, where, according to Strabo, confirmed by Hesychius and Stephanus Byzantius (*s.v.* Γαργητός), the headless trunk of Eurystheus was interred, seems to have lain on the opposite side of the gap, near the foot of Pentelicus, where a small modern village, Garito, apparently preserves the ancient name. See W. M. Leake, *op. cit.* pp. 26 *sqq.*, 44-47; *Karten von Attika, Erläuternder Text*, Heft II. von A. Milchhoefer (Berlin, 1883), pp. 35 (who differs as to the site of Gargettus); *Guides-Joanne, Grèce*, par B. Haussoullier, i. (Paris, 1896), pp. 204 *sq.* Thus the statements of Euripides and Strabo about the place where the body of Eurystheus was buried may be reconciled if we suppose that it was interred at Gargettus facing over against Pallene, which lay on the opposite or southern side of the gap between Pentelicus and Hymettus. For the battles said to have been fought at various times in this important pass, see Herodotus, i. 62 *sq.*; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 15, with Sir J. E. Sandys's note; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 13; Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 35.

The statement of Apollodorus that Hyllus killed Eurystheus and brought his head to Alcmena, who gouged out his eyes with weaving-pins, is repeated by Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 61), who probably here, as so often, simply copied our author without acknowledgment. According to Pindar (*Pyth.* ix. 79 (137) *sqq.*, with the Scholia), the slayer of Eurystheus was not Hyllus but Iolaus; and this seems to have been the common tradition.

Can we explain the curious tradition that the severed head and body of the foe-man Eurystheus were buried separately many miles apart, and both of them in passes strategically important? According to Euripides (*Heracidae*, 1026 *sqq.*),

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- 2 Ἀπολομένου δὲ Εὐρυσθέως ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον ἦλθον οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, καὶ πάσας εἶλον τὰς πόλεις. ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ καθόδῳ διαγενομένου

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Eurystheus, before being killed by the order of Alcmena, announced to the Athenians that, in gratitude for their merciful, though fruitless, intercession with Alcmena, he would still, after his death, lying beneath the sod, be a friend and saviour to Athens, but a stern foe to the descendants of the Heraclids—that is, to the Argives and Spartans, both of whom traced the blood of their kings to Hercules. Further, he bade the Athenians not to pour libations or shed blood on his grave, for even without such offerings he would in death benefit them and injure their enemies, whom he would drive home, defeated, from the borders of Attica. From this it would seem that the ghost of Eurystheus was supposed to guard Attica against invasion; hence we can understand why his body should be divided in two and the severed parts buried in different passes by which enemies might march into the country, because in this way the ghost might reasonably be expected to do double duty as a sentinel or spiritual outpost in two important places at the same time. Similarly the dead Oedipus in his grave at Athens was believed to protect the country and ensure its welfare. See Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 576 *sqq.*, 1518–1534, 1760–1765; Aristides, *Or.* xlvi. vol. ii. p. 230, ed. G. Dindorf. So Orestes, in gratitude for his acquittal at Athens, is represented by Aeschylus as promising that even when he is in his grave he will prevent any Argive leader from marching against Attica. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 732 (762) *sqq.* And Euripides makes Hector declare that the foreigners who had fought in defence of Troy were “no small security to the city” even when “they had fallen and were lying in their heaped-up graves.” See Euripides, *Rhesus*, 413–415. These examples show that in the opinion of the Greeks the ghosts even of foreigners could serve as guardian spirits of a country to which they were attached by ties of gratitude or affection; for in each of the cases I have cited the dead man who was thought to protect either Attica or Troy was a stranger from a strange land. Some of the Scythians in antiquity used to cut off the heads of their enemies and stick them on poles

After Eurystheus had perished, the Heraclids came to attack Peloponnese and they captured all the cities.<sup>1</sup> When a year had elapsed from their

over the chimneys of their houses, where the skulls were supposed to act as watchmen or guardians, perhaps by repelling any foul fiends that might attempt to enter the dwelling by coming down the chimney. See Herodotus, iv. 103. So tribes in Borneo, who make a practice of cutting off the heads of their enemies and garnishing their houses with these trophies, imagine that they can propitiate the spirits of their dead foes and convert them into friends and protectors by addressing the skulls in endearing language and offering them food. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 294 *sqq.* The references in Greek legend to men who habitually relieved strangers of their heads, which they added to their collection of skulls, may point to the former existence among the Greeks of a practice of collecting human skulls for the purpose of securing the ghostly protection of their late owners. See notes on ii. 5. 11 (Antaeus), ii. 7. 7 (Cycnus). Compare *Epitome*, ii. 5 (Oenomaus); note on i. 7. 8 (Evenus).

<sup>1</sup> For the first attempted invasion of the Peloponnese by the Heraclids or sons of Hercules, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 1-4. The invasion is commonly spoken of as a return, because, though their father Hercules had been born at Thebes in Boeotia, he regarded Mycenae and Tiryns, the kingdom of his forefathers, as his true home. The word (*κάθοδος*) here employed by Apollodorus is regularly applied by Greek writers to the return of exiles from banishment, and in particular to the return of the Heraclids. See, for example, Strabo, viii. 3. 30, p. 354, viii. 4. 1, p. 359, viii. 5. 5, p. 365, viii. 6. 10, p. 372, viii. 7. 1, p. 383, viii. 8. 5, p. 389, ix. 1. 7, p. 392, x. 2. 6, p. 451, xiii. 1. 3, p. 582, xiv. 2. 6, p. 653; Pausanias, iv. 3. 3, v. 6. 3. The corresponding verbs, *κατέρχεσθαι*, "to return from exile," and *κατάγειν*, "to bring back from exile," are both used by Apollodorus in these senses. See ii. 7. 2 and 3, ii. 8. 2 and 5, iii. 10. 5. The final return of the Heraclids, in conjunction with the Dorians, to the Peloponnese is dated by Thucydides (i. 12. 3) in the eightieth year after the capture of Troy; according to Pausanias (iv. 3. 3), it occurred two generations after that event, which tallies fairly with the estimate of Thucydides. Velleius

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φθορά<sup>1</sup> πᾶσαν Πελοπόννησον κατέσχε, καὶ ταύτην γενέσθαι χρῆσμός διὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἐδήλου· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ δέοντος αὐτοὺς κατελθεῖν. ὅθεν ἀπολιπόντες Πελοπόννησον ἀνεχώρησαν<sup>2</sup> εἰς Μαραθῶνα κακεῖ κατόκουν. Τληπόλεμος οὖν κτείννας οὐχ ἐκὼν Δικύμνιον (τῇ βακτηρία γὰρ αὐτοῦ θεράποντα<sup>3</sup> πλῆσσοντος ὑπέδραμε) πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς<sup>4</sup> ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, φεύγων μετ' οὐκ ὀλίγων ἦκεν εἰς Ῥόδον, κακεῖ κατόκει. Ἔλλος δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἰόλην κατὰ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐντολὰς<sup>5</sup> ἔγημε, τὴν δὲ κάθοδον ἐζήτηε τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις κατεργάσασθαι. διὸ παραγενόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπυνθάνετο πῶς ἂν κατέλθοιεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔφησε<sup>6</sup> περιμείναντας τὸν τρίτον καρπὸν κατέρχεσθαι. νομίσας δὲ Ἔλλος τρίτον καρπὸν λέγεσθαι τὴν τριετίαν, τοσοῦτον περιμείνας χρόνον σὺν τῷ στρατῷ κατῆε . . . τοῦ Ἡρακλέους<sup>7</sup> ἐπὶ Πελοπόννησον, Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Ὀρέστου βασιλεύοντος

<sup>1</sup> διαγενομένου φθορά Wagner : γενομένου φθορά E : γενομένης φθορᾶς A.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνεχώρησαν ERR<sup>a</sup>, O in margin : ἤλθον BC.

<sup>3</sup> θεράποντα Faber : θεραπεύοντα A.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοὺς Heyne : αὐτὸν A.

<sup>5</sup> τὰς . . . ἐντολὰς R : ἐντολήν A.

<sup>6</sup> ἔφησε A : ἔχρησε Mendelssohn.

<sup>7</sup> κατῆε . . . τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. The lacuna was indicated by Heyne. Faber proposed to read κατῆγε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους. See the exegetical note.

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Paterculus (i. 2. 1) agrees with Thucydides as to the date, and adds for our further satisfaction that the return took place one hundred and twenty years after Hercules had been promoted to the rank of deity.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus says nothing of this return of the Heraclids to Attica after the plague, but he records (iv. 58. 3

return, a plague visited the whole of Peloponnese; and an oracle declared that this happened on account of the Heraclids, because they had returned before the proper time. Hence they quitted Peloponnese and retired to Marathon and dwelt there.<sup>1</sup> Now before they came out of Peloponnese, Tlepolemus had killed Licymnius inadvertently; for while he was beating a servant with his stick Licymnius ran in between; so he fled with not a few, and came to Rhodes, and dwelt there.<sup>2</sup> But Hyllus married Iole according to his father's commands, and sought to effect the return of the Heraclids. So he went to Delphi and inquired how they should return; and the god said that they should await the third crop before returning. But Hyllus supposed that the third crop signified three years; and having waited that time he returned with his army<sup>3</sup> . . . of Hercules to Peloponnese, when Tisamenus, son of

*sq.*) that, after their defeat and the death of Hyllus at the Isthmus, they retired to Tricorythus and stayed there for fifty years. We have seen (above, p. 278, note on ii. 8. 1) that Tricorythus was situated at the northern end of the plain of Marathon.

<sup>2</sup> For the homicide and exile of Tlepolemus, see Homer, *Il.* ii. 653-670, with the Scholiast on 662; Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 27 (50) *sqq.*; Strabo, xiv. 2. 6, p. 653; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 7 *sq.* According to Pindar, the homicide was apparently not accidental, but committed in a fit of anger with a staff of olive-wood.

<sup>3</sup> He was met by a Peloponnesian army at the Isthmus of Corinth and there defeated and slain in single combat by Echemus, king of Tegea. Then, in virtue of a treaty which they had concluded with their adversaries, the Heraclids retreated to Attica and did not attempt the invasion of Peloponnese again for fifty years. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 58. 1-5; Pausanias, viii. 5. 1. These events may have been recorded by Apollodorus in the lacuna which follows.



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Πελοποννησίων. καὶ γενομένης πάλιν μάχης νικῶσι Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀριστόμαχος θνήσκει. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠνδρώθησαν οἱ [Κλεοδαίου]<sup>1</sup> παῖδες, ἐχρῶντο περὶ καθόδου. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ εἰπόντος ὃ τι καὶ τὸ πρότερον, Τήμενος ἠτιᾶτο λέγων τούτῳ πεισθέντας<sup>2</sup> ἀτυχήσαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε τῶν ἀτυχημάτων αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι· τοὺς γὰρ χρησμοὺς οὐ συμβάλλειν. λέγειν γὰρ οὐ γῆς ἀλλὰ γενεᾶς καρπὸν τρίτον, καὶ στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγᾶστορα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν.<sup>3</sup> ταῦτα Τήμενος ἀκούσας ἠτοίμαζε τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Κλεοδαίου Gale, bracketed by Westermann and Müller, but not by Bekker, Hercher, and Wagner: κλεοδάου A. We should perhaps read Ἀριστομάχου.

<sup>2</sup> πεισθέντας conjectured by Commelinus, preferred by Gale; πεισθέντα Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, apparently following the MSS. Wagner's note πεισθέντας A seems to be a mistake for πεισθέντα A.

<sup>3</sup> στενυγρὰν τὴν εὐρυγᾶστορα, δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντι τὴν θάλασσαν Heyne, Bekker, Hercher: στενυγρὸν τὸν τὴν εὐρυγᾶστορα δεξιὰν κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν ἔχοντα τὴν θάλασσαν Wagner, which I cannot construe.

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<sup>1</sup> Pausanias at first dated the return of the Heraclids in the reign of this king (ii. 18. 7, iii. 1. 5; compare iv. 3. 3), but he afterwards retracted this opinion (viii. 5. 1).

<sup>2</sup> This Aristomachus was a son of Cleodaeus (Pausanias, ii. 7. 6), who was a son of Hyllus (Pausanias, iii. 15. 10), who was a son of Hercules (Pausanias, i. 35. 8). Aristomachus was the father of Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, viii. 5. 6), of whom Temenus and Cresphontes led the Heraclids and Dorians in their final invasion and conquest of Peloponnese (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7, v. 3. 5 sq., v. 4. 1, viii. 5. 6, x. 38. 10). Compare Herodotus, vi. 52, who indicates the descent of Aristodemus from Hercules concisely by speaking of "Aristodemus, the son of

Orestes, was reigning over the Peloponnesians.<sup>1</sup> And in another battle the Peloponnesians were victorious, and Aristomachus<sup>2</sup> was slain. But when the sons of Cleodæus<sup>3</sup> were grown to man's estate, they inquired of the oracle concerning their return. And the god having given the same answer as before, Temenus blamed him, saying that when they had obeyed the oracle they had been unfortunate. But the god retorted that they were themselves to blame for their misfortunes, for they did not understand the oracles, seeing that by "the third crop" he meant, not a crop of the earth, but a crop of a generation, and that by the narrows he meant the broad-bellied sea on the right of the Isthmus.<sup>4</sup> On hearing that,

Aristomachus, the son of Cleodæus, the son of Hyllus." Thus, according to the traditional genealogy, the conquerors of the Peloponnese were great-great-grandsons of Hercules. With regard to Aristomachus, the father of the conquerors, Pausanias says (ii. 7. 6) that he missed his chance of returning to Peloponnese through mistaking the meaning of the oracle. The reference seems to be to the oracle about "the narrows," which is reported by Apollodorus (see below, note 4).

<sup>3</sup> As Heyne pointed out, the name Cleodæus here is almost certainly wrong, whether we suppose the mistake to have been made by Apollodorus himself or by a copyist. For Cleodæus was the father of Aristomachus, whose death in battle Apollodorus has just recorded; and, as the sequel clearly proves, the reference is here not to the brothers but to the sons of Aristomachus, namely, Temenus and Cresphontes, the conquerors of the Peloponnese. Compare the preceding note.

<sup>4</sup> The oracle was recorded and derided by the cynical philosopher Oenomaus, who, having been deceived by what purported to be a revelation of the deity, made it his business to expose the whole oracular machinery to the ridicule and contempt of the public. This he did in a work entitled *On Oracles, or the Exposure of Quacks*, of which Eusebius has preserved some extracts. From one of these (Eusebius,

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στρατοί, καὶ ναῦς ἐπήξατο<sup>1</sup> τῆς Λοκρίδος ἔνθα  
 νῦν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ὁ τόπος Ναύπακτος λέγεται. ἐκεῖ  
 δ' ὄντος τοῦ στρατεύματος Ἀριστόδημος κεραυ-  
 νοθεὶς ἀπέθανε, παῖδας καταλιπὼν ἐξ Ἀργείας  
 τῆς Αὐτεσιώνος διδύμους, Εὐρυσθένη καὶ Προκλέα.  
 3 συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ συμ-  
 φορᾷ περιπεσεῖν. ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς μάντις χρη-  
 σμούς λέγων καὶ ἐνθεάζων, ὃν ἐνόμισαν μάγον  
 εἶναι ἐπὶ λύμῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ πρὸς Πελοποννησίων  
 ἀπεσταλμένον. τοῦτον βαλὼν ἀκουτίῳ Ἰππότης ὁ  
 Φύλαντος τοῦ Ἀντιόχου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τυχὼν  
 ἀπέκτεινε. οὕτως δὲ γενομένου τούτου τὸ μὲν  
 ναυτικὸν διαφθαρεῖσιν τῶν νεῶν ἀπώλετο, τὸ δὲ  
 πεζὸν ἠτύχησε λιμῶ, καὶ διελύθη τὸ στράτευμα.  
 χρωμένου δὲ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς Τημένου, καὶ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ μάντεως γενέσθαι ταῦτα  
 λέγοντος, καὶ κελεύοντος φυγαδεῦσαι δέκα ἔτη τὸν  
 ἀνελόντα καὶ χρῆσασθαι ἡγεμόνι τῷ τριοφθάλμῳ,  
 τὸν μὲν Ἰππότην ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὸν δὲ τριοφθαλ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπήξατο Aegius : ἐπάσσετο A.

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*Praeparatio Evangelii*, v. 20) we learn that when Aristomachus applied to the oracle, he was answered, "The gods declare victory to thee by the way of the narrows" (*Νίκην σοι φαίνουσι θεοὶ δι' ὀδοῖο στενύγρων*). This the inquirer understood to mean "by the Isthmus of Corinth," and on that understanding the Heraclids attempted to enter Peloponnese by the Isthmus, but were defeated. Being taxed with deception, the god explained that when he said "the narrows" he really meant "the broads," that is, the sea at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Compare K. O. Müller, *Die Dorier*<sup>2</sup>, i. 58 sq., who would restore the "retort courteous" of the oracle in two iambic lines as follows :—

γενεᾶς γὰρ, οὐ γῆς καρπὸν ἐξεῖπον τρίτον  
 καὶ τὴν στενυγρὰν αὐτὸν εὐρυγᾶστορα  
 — ἔχοντα κατὰ τὸν Ἴσθμὸν δεξιάν.

Temenus made ready the army and built ships in Locris where the place is now named Naupactus from that.<sup>1</sup> While the army was there, Aristodemus was killed by a thunderbolt,<sup>2</sup> leaving twin sons, Eurysthenes and Procles, by Argia, daughter of Autesion.<sup>3</sup> And it chanced that a calamity also befell the army at Naupactus. For there appeared to them a soothsayer reciting oracles in a fine frenzy, whom they took for a magician sent by the Peloponnesians to be the ruin of the army. So Hippotes, son of Phylas, son of Antiochus, son of Hercules, threw a javelin at him, and hit and killed him.<sup>4</sup> In consequence of that, the naval force perished with the destruction of the fleet, and the land force suffered from famine, and the army disbanded. When Temenus inquired of the oracle concerning this calamity, the god said that these things were done by the soothsayer<sup>5</sup> and he ordered him to banish the slayer for ten years and to take for his guide the Three-eyed One. So they banished Hippotes, and sought for the Three-Eyed One.<sup>6</sup> And

<sup>1</sup> Naupactus means "ship-built." Compare Strabo, ix. 4. 7; Pausanias, iv. 26. 1, x. 38. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Aristodemus was a son of Aristomachus and brother of Temenus and Cresphontes, the conquerors of the Peloponnese (Pausanias, ii. 18. 7). Some said he was shot by Apollo at Delphi for not consulting the oracle, but others said he was murdered by the children of Pylades and Electra (Pausanias, iii. 1. 6). Apollodorus clearly adopts the former of these two accounts; the rationalistic Pausanias preferred the latter.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Herodotus, vi. 52.

<sup>4</sup> The soothsayer was Carnus, an Acarnanian; the Dorians continued to propitiate the soul of the murdered seer after his death. See Pausanias, iii. 13. 4; Conon, *Narrationes*, 26; Scholiast on Theocritus, v. 83.

<sup>5</sup> That is, by the angry spirit of the murdered man.

<sup>6</sup> With this and what follows compare Pausanias, v. 3. 5 sq.; Suidas, s.v. Τριόφθαλμος; and as to Oxylus, compare Strabo, viii. 3. 33, p. 357. Pausanias calls Oxylus the son of Haemon.

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μον ἐξήτουν. καὶ περιτυγχάνουσιν Ὀξύλω τῷ Ἀνδραίμονος, ἐφ' ἵππου καθημένῳ<sup>1</sup> μονοφθάλμου<sup>2</sup> (τὸν γὰρ ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐκκέκοπτο<sup>3</sup> τόξῳ). ἐπὶ φόνῳ γὰρ οὗτος φυγῶν εἰς Ἥλιον, ἐκείθεν εἰς Αἰτωλίαν ἐνιαυτοῦ διελθόντος ἐπανήρχετο. συμβαλόντες οὖν τὸν χρησμόν, τοῦτον ἡγεμόνα ποιοῦνται. καὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τῷ πεζῷ καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προτεροῦσι στρατῷ, καὶ Ἰτσαμενὸν κτείνουσι τὸν Ὀρέστου. θνήσκουσι δὲ συμμαχοῦντες αὐτοῖς οἱ Αἰγιμίου παῖδες, Πάμφυλος καὶ Δύμας.

- 4 Ἐπειδὴ <δὲ> ἐκράτησαν Πελοποννήσου, τρεῖς ἰδρύσαντο βωμοὺς πατρῷου Διός, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἔθυσαν, καὶ ἐκληροῦντο τὰς πόλεις. πρώτη μὲν οὖν λήξις Ἄργος, δευτέρα <δὲ> Λακεδαίμων, τρίτη δὲ Μεσσήνη. κομισάντων δὲ ὑδρίαν ὕδατος, ἔδοξε ψῆφον βαλεῖν ἕκαστον. Τήμενος οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀριστοδήμου παῖδες Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης ἔβαλον λίθους, Κρεσφόντης δὲ βουλόμενος Μεσσήνην λαχεῖν γῆς ἐνέβαλε βῶλον. ταύτης δὲ διαλυθείσης ἔδει τοὺς δύο κλήρους ἀναφανῆναι. ἐλκυσθείσης δὲ πρώτης<sup>4</sup> μὲν τῆς Τημένου, δευτέρας δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἀριστοδήμου παίδων, Μεσσήνην

<sup>1</sup> καθημένῳ Aegius: καθημένου A.

<sup>2</sup> μονοφθάλμου, Frazer (compare Pausanias, v. 3. 5; Suidas, s.v. Τριόφθαλμος); μονοφθάλμῳ Wagner and previous editors, following apparently the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκκέκοπτο Gale, Heyne, for ἐκέκοπτο: ἐξεκέκοπτο Hercher. But on the omission of the augment, see Jelf, *Greek Grammar*<sup>4</sup>, i. 169, Obs. 4. <sup>4</sup> πρώτης Aegius: πρώτου A.

they chanced to light on Oxylus, son of Andraemon, a man sitting on a one-eyed horse (its other eye having been knocked out with an arrow); for he had fled to Elis on account of a murder, and was now returning from there to Aetolia after the lapse of a year.<sup>1</sup> So guessing the purport of the oracle, they made him their guide. And having engaged the enemy they got the better of him both by land and sea, and slew Tisamenus, son of Orestes.<sup>2</sup> Their allies, Pamphylus and Dymas, the sons of Aegimius, also fell in the fight.

When they had made themselves masters of Peloponnese, they set up three altars of Paternal Zeus, and sacrificed upon them, and cast lots for the cities. So the first drawing was for Argos, the second for Lacedaemon, and the third for Messene. And they brought a pitcher of water, and resolved that each should cast in a lot. Now Temenus and the two sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, threw stones; But Cresphontes, wishing to have Messene allotted to him, threw in a clod of earth. As the clod was dissolved in the water, it could not be but that the other two lots should turn up. The lot of Temenus having been drawn first, and that of the sons of Aristodemus second, Cresphontes got

<sup>1</sup> The homicide is said to have been accidental; according to one account, the victim was the homicide's brother. See Pausanias, v. 3. 7. As to the banishment of a murderer for a year, see note on ii. 5. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias gives a different account of the death of Tisamenus. He says that, being expelled from Lacedaemon and Argos by the returning Heraclids, king Tisamenus led an army to Achaia and there fell in a battle with the Ionians, who then inhabited that district of Greece. See Pausanias, ii. 18. 8, vii. 1. 7 *sq.*

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ἔλαβε<sup>1</sup> Κρεσφόντης. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς οἷς ἔθυσαν εὐρον σημεῖα κείμενα οἱ μὲν λαχόντες Ἄργος φρῦνον, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαίμονα<sup>2</sup> δράκοντα, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνην ἀλώπεκα. περὶ δὲ τῶν σημείων ἔλεγον οἱ μάντις, τοῖς μὲν τὸν φρῦνον καταλαβοῦσιν<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως μένειν ἄμεινον (μὴ γὰρ ἔχειν ἀλκὴν πορευόμενον τὸ θηρίον), τοὺς δὲ δράκοντα καταλαβόντας δεινούς ἐπιόντας ἔλεγον ἔσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀλώπεκα δολίους.

Τήμενος μὲν οὖν παραπεμπόμενος τοὺς παῖδας Ἄγέλαον καὶ Εὐρύπυλον καὶ Καλλίαν, τῇ θυγατρὶ προσανείχεν Ἐρμηθῶ καὶ τῷ ταύτης ἀνδρὶ Δηιφόντῃ. ὅθεν οἱ παῖδες πείθουσίν τινας<sup>4</sup> ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν φονεῦσαι. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ φόνου τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ στρατὸς ἔχειν ἐδικαίωσεν Ἐρμηθῶ καὶ Δηιφόντῃ.<sup>5</sup> Κρεσφόντης δὲ οὐ πολὺν Μεσσήνης βασιλεύσας χρόνον μετὰ δύο παίδων φονευθεὶς ἀπέθανε. Πολυφόντης δὲ ἐβασίλευσεν, αὐτῶν<sup>6</sup> τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ὑπάρχων, καὶ τὴν τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἔλαχε Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> λακεδαίμονα E: λακεδαίμονα λαχόντες A.

<sup>3</sup> καταλαβοῦσιν E. According to Heyne, the MSS. have καταβαλοῦσι.

<sup>4</sup> τινας Faber, Westermann, Hercher, Wagner: τιτᾶνας A, Bekker. Heyne conjectured Τιτανίους from Τιτάνη or Τίτανα, a town near Sicyon. See Pausanias, ii. 11. 3-ii. 12. 1; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Τίτανα, who recognizes the adjective Τιτάνιος.

<sup>5</sup> Ἐρμηθῶ καὶ Δηιφόντῃ Heyne: ἕρμηθοὶ καὶ δηιφόντῃ A.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸς Faber: καὶ αὐτὸς Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the drawing of the lots, and the stratagem by which Cresphontes secured Messenia for himself, see Poly-aenus, *Strateg.* i. 6; Pausanias, iv. 3. 4 sq. Sophocles alludes to the stratagem (*Ajax*, 1283 sqq., with the Scholiast on 1285).

Messene.<sup>1</sup> And on the altars on which they sacrificed they found signs lying: for they who got Argos by the lot found a toad; those who got Lacedaemon found a serpent; and those who got Messene found a fox.<sup>2</sup> As to these signs the seers said that those who found the toad had better stay in the city (seeing that the animal has no strength when it walks); that those who found the serpent would be terrible in attack, and that those who found the fox would be wily.

Now Temenus, passing over his sons Agelaus, Eurypylus, and Callias, favoured his daughter Hyrnetho and her husband Deiphontes; hence his sons hired some fellows to murder their father.<sup>3</sup> On the perpetration of the murder the army decided that the kingdom belonged to Hyrnetho<sup>4</sup> and Deiphontes. Cresphontes had not long reigned over Messene when he was murdered with two of his sons;<sup>5</sup> and Polyphontes, one of the true Heraclids, came to the

<sup>2</sup> In the famous paintings by Polygnotus at Delphi, the painter depicted Menelaus, king of Sparta, with the device of a serpent on his shield. See Pausanias, x. 26. 3. The great Messenian hero Aristomenes is said to have escaped by the help of a fox from the pit into which he had been thrown by the Lacedaemonians. See Pausanias, iv. 18. 6 *sq.* I do not remember to have met with any evidence, other than that of Apollodorus, as to the association of the toad with Argos.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii. 19. 1, ii. 28. 2 *sqq.*, who agrees as to the names of Hyrnetho and her husband Deiphontes, but differs as to the sons of Temenus, whom he calls Cistus, Cerynes Phalces, and Agraeus.

<sup>4</sup> The grave of Hyrnetho was shown at Argos, but she is said to have been accidentally killed by her brother Phalces near Epidaurus, and long afterwards she was worshipped in a sacred grove of olives and other trees on the place of her death. See Pausanias, ii. 23. 3, ii. 28. 3-7

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pausanias, iv. 3. 7.



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φονευθέντος γυναῖκα Μερόπην ἄκουσαν ἔλαβεν.  
ἀνηρέθη δὲ καὶ οὗτος. τρίτον γὰρ ἔχουσα παῖδα  
Μερόπη καλούμενον Αἴπυτον<sup>1</sup> ἔδωκε τῷ ἑαυτῆς  
πατρὶ τρέφειν. οὗτος ἀνδρωθεὶς καὶ κρύφα κατελ-  
θὼν ἔκτεινε Πολυφόντην καὶ τὴν πατρώαν βασι-  
λείαν ἀπέλαβεν.

<sup>1</sup> Αἴπυτον Heyne : αἴγυπτον A.

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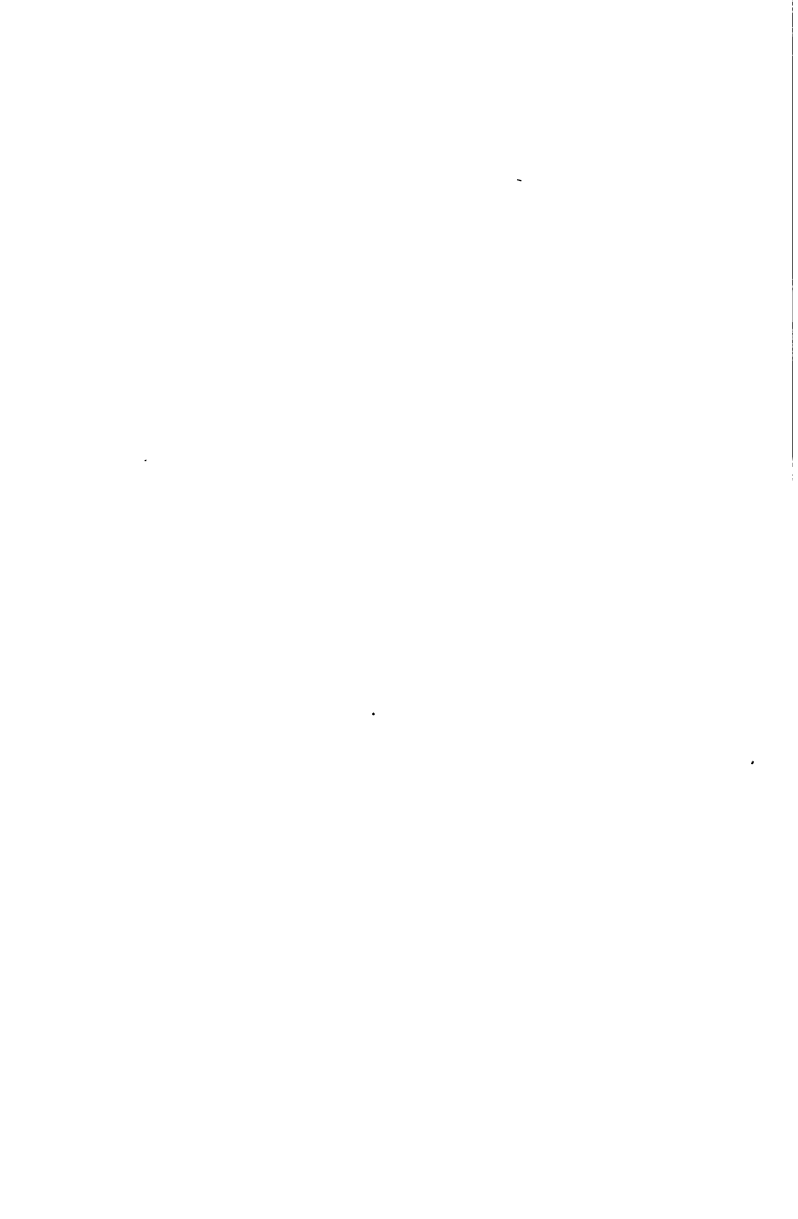
<sup>1</sup> Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 137.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Pausanias, iv. 3. 7 *sq.* (who does not name Polyphontes); Hyginus, *Fab.* 184. According to Hyginus,

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throne and took to wife, against her will, Merope, the wife of the murdered man.<sup>1</sup> But he too was slain. For Merope had a third son, called Aepytus, whom she gave to her own father to bring up. When he was come to manhood he secretly returned, killed Polyphontes, and recovered the kingdom of his fathers.<sup>2</sup>

the name of the son of Cresphontes who survived to avenge his father's murder was Telephon. This story of Merope, Aepytus, and Polyphontes is the theme of Matthew Arnold's tragedy *Merope*, an imitation of the antique.



**BOOK III**

## Γ

I. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ Ἰνάχειον διερχόμενοι γένος τοὺς ἀπὸ Βήλου μέχρι τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν δεδηλώκαμεν, ἐχομένως λέγωμεν καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀγήνορος. ὡς γὰρ ἡμῖν λέλεκται, δύο Λιβύη ἐγέννησε παῖδας ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος, Βήλον καὶ Ἀγήνορα. Βήλος μὲν οὖν βασιλεύων Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς προειρημένους ἐγέννησεν, Ἀγήνωρ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην<sup>1</sup> γαμεί Τηλέφασσαν καὶ τεκνοῖ θυγατέρα μὲν Εὐρώπην, παῖδας δὲ Κάδμον καὶ Φοίνικα καὶ Κίλικα. τινὲς δὲ Εὐρώπην οὐκ Ἀγήνορος

<sup>1</sup> Φοινίκην Emperius, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: εὐρώπην A, Westermann, Müller, who brackets the clause παραγενόμενος εἰς Εὐρώπην.

<sup>1</sup> See above, ii. 1. 4.

<sup>2</sup> The ancients were not agreed as to the genealogies of these mythical ancestors of the Phoenicians, Cilicians, and Thebans. See the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 178, iii. 1186. Among the authorities whose divergent views are reported in these passages by the Scholiast are Hesiod, Pherecydes, Asclepiades, and Antimachus. Moschus (ii. 40 and 42) agrees with Apollodorus that the mother of Europa was Telephassa, but differs from him as to her father (see below). According to Hyginus (*Fab.* 6 and 178), the mother who bore Cadmus and Europa to Agenor was not Telephassa but Argiope. According to Euripides, Agenor had three sons, Cilix, Phoenix, and Thasus. See Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 6. Pausanias agrees with regard to Thasus, saying that the natives of Thasos were Phoenicians and traced their origin to this Thasus, son of

## BOOK III

I. HAVING NOW run over the family of Inachus and described them from Belus down to the Heraclids, we have next to speak of the house of Agenor. For as I have said,<sup>1</sup> Libya had by Poseidon two sons, Belus and Agenor. Now Belus reigned over the Egyptians and begat the aforesaid sons; but Agenor went to Phoenicia, married Telephassa, and begat a daughter Europa and three sons, Cadmus, Phoenix, and Cilix.<sup>2</sup> But some say that Europa was a daughter

Agenor (Pausanias, v. 25. 12). In saying this, Pausanias followed Herodotus, who tells us that the Phoenician colonists of Thasos discovered wonderful gold mines there, which the historian had visited (Herodotus, vi. 46 *sq.*), and that they had founded a sanctuary of Hercules in the island (ii. 44). Herodotus also (vii. 91) represents Cilix as a son of the Phoenician Agenor, and he tells us (iv. 147) that Cadmus, son of Agenor, left a Phoenician colony in the island of Thera. Diodorus Siculus reports (v. 59. 2 *sq.*) that Cadmus, son of Agenor, planted a Phoenician colony in Rhodes, and that the descendants of the colonists continued to hold the hereditary priesthood of Poseidon, whose worship had been instituted by Cadmus. He mentions also that in the sanctuary of Athena at Lindus, in Rhodes, there was a tripod of ancient style bearing a Phoenician inscription. The statement has been confirmed in recent years by the discovery of the official record of the temple of Lindian Athena in Rhodes. For in this record, engraved on a marble slab, there occurs the following entry: "Cadmus (dedicated) a bronze tripod engraved with Phoenician letters, as Polyzalus relates in the fourth book of the histories." See Chr. Blinkenberg, *La*

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ἀλλὰ Φοίνικος λέγουσι. ταύτης Ζεὺς ἐρασθεὶς,<sup>1</sup>  
 †ρόδου ἀποπλέων,<sup>2</sup> ταύρος χειροθήης γενόμενος,  
 ἐπιβιβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισεν εἰς  
 Κρήτην. ἡ δέ, ἐκεῖ συνευνασθέντος αὐτῇ Διός,  
 ἐγέννησε Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα Ῥαδάμανθυν· καθ'  
 "Ὀμηρον δὲ Σαρπηδὼν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Λαοδαμείας  
 τῆς Βελλεροφόντου. ἀφανοῦς δὲ Εὐρώπης γενο-  
 μένης ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς Ἀγῆνωρ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἐξέ-  
 πεμψε τοὺς παῖδας, εἰπὼν μὴ πρότερον ἀναστρέ-  
 φειν πρὶν ἂν ἐξεύρωσιν Εὐρώπην. συνεξήλθε δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτῆς Τηλέφασσα ἡ μήτηρ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐρασθεὶς. In the MSS. there follow the words πίπτει διὰ  
 τῆς θαλάσσης, which, as Heyne says, seem to have arisen  
 through confusion with the following ἐπιβιβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς  
 θαλάσσης.

<sup>2</sup> ῥόδου ἀποπλέων apparently corrupt, omitted by Heyne,  
 Bekker, Hercher: Ῥόδου ἀποπλέων Westermann: ῥόδου ἀπο-  
 πλέων Sevinus: κρόκου ἀποπλέων Clavier (comparing Scholiast  
 on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292, ἠλλαξεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ταύρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
 στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει): ἐκ ῥόδων or ἐκ ῥοδῶνος ἀφελὼν Wagner  
 (comparing Moschus, ii. 70).

*Chronique du Temple Lindien* (Copenhagen, 1912), p. 324.  
 However, from such legends all that we can safely infer is  
 that the Greeks traced a blood relationship between the  
 Phoenicians and Cilicians, and recognised a Phoenician  
 element in some of the Greek islands and parts of the main-  
 land. If Europa was, as seems possible, a personification of  
 the moon in the shape of a cow (see *The Dying God*, p. 88),  
 we might perhaps interpret the quest of the sons of Agenor  
 for their lost sister as a mythical description of Phoenician  
 mariners steering westward towards the moon which they  
 saw with her silver horns setting in the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Europa was a daughter of Phoenix, according to Homer  
 (*Il.* xiv. 321 *sq.*), Bacchylides (xvi. 29 *sqq.* p. 876, ed. Jebb),  
 and Moschus (ii. 7). So, too, the Scholiast on Homer (*Il.* xii.  
 292) calls Europa a daughter of Phoenix. The Scholiast on  
 Plato (*Timaeus*, p. 24 B) speaks of Europa as a daughter of

not of Agenor but of Phoenix.<sup>1</sup> Zeus loved her, and turning himself into a tame bull, he mounted her on his back and conveyed her through the sea to Crete.<sup>2</sup> There Zeus bedded with her, and she bore Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys;<sup>3</sup> but according to Homer, Sarpedon was a son of Zeus by Laodamia, daughter of Bellerophon.<sup>4</sup> On the disappearance of Europa her father Agenor sent out his sons in search of her, telling them not to return until they had found Europa. With them her mother, Telephassa, and Thasus, son of Poseidon, or

Agenor, or of Phoenix, or of Tityus. Some said that Cadmus also was a son, not of Agenor, but of Phoenix (Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iii. 1186).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Moschus, ii. 77 *sqq.*; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Diodorus Siculus, v. 78. 1; Lucian, *Dial. Marin.* xv.; *id. De dea Syria*, 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 836 *sqq.*; *id. Fasti*, v. 603 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 47, 100 (First Vatican Mythographer, 148; Second Vatican Mythographer, 76). The connexion which the myth of Zeus and Europa indicates between Phoenicia and Crete receives a certain confirmation from the worship at Gaza of a god called Marnas, who was popularly identified with the Cretan Zeus. His name was thought to be derived from a Cretan word *marna*, meaning "maiden"; so that, as Mr. G. F. Hill has pointed out, *marnas* might signify "young man." The city is also said to have been called Minoa, after Minos. See Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* *Μάρνα*. The worship of Marnas, "the Cretan Zeus," persisted at Gaza till 402 A.D., when it was finally suppressed and his sanctuary, the Marneion, destroyed. See Mark the Deacon's *Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza*, 64-71, pp. 73-82, G. F. Hill's translation (Oxford, 1913). From this work (ch. 19, p. 24) we learn that Marnas was regarded as the lord of rain, and that prayer and sacrifice were offered to him in time of drought. As to the god and his relation to Crete, see G. F. Hill's introduction to his translation, pp. xxxii.-xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178. <sup>4</sup> Homer, *Il.* ii. 198 *sq.*



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Θάσος ὁ Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς δὲ Φερεκύδης φησὶ Κίλικος.<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὲ πᾶσαν ποιούμενοι ζήτησιν εὐρεῖν ἦσαν Εὐρώπην ἀδύνατοι, τὴν εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδὴν ἀπογνόντες ἄλλος ἀλλαγοῦ κατώκησαν,<sup>2</sup> Φοῖνιξ μὲν ἐν Φοινίκῃ,<sup>3</sup> Κίλιξ δὲ Φοινίκης πλησίον, καὶ<sup>4</sup> πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε.<sup>5</sup> Κάδμος δὲ καὶ Τηλέφασσα ἐν Θράκῃ κατώκησαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Θάσος ἐν Θράκῃ<sup>6</sup> κτίσας πόλιν Θάσον κατώκησεν.

- 2 Εὐρώπην δὲ γήμας Ἀστέριος<sup>7</sup> ὁ Κρητῶν δυναστίης τοὺς ἐκ ταύτης παῖδας ἔτρεφεν. οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐτελειώθησαν, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστασίασαν ἰσχυροὶ γὰρ ἔρωτα παιδὸς ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Μίλητος, Ἀπόλλωνος δὲ ἦν καὶ Ἀρείας τῆς Κλεόχου. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς πρὸς Σαρπηδόνα μᾶλλον οἰκείως ἔχοντος πολεμήσας Μίνως ἐπροτέρησεν. οἱ δὲ φεύ-

<sup>1</sup> Κίλικος Heyne: κιλίκιος A.

<sup>2</sup> κατώκησαν B<sup>2</sup>O: κατόκισαν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν Φοινίκῃ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: φοινίκην A.

<sup>4</sup> ὃς καὶ Hercher.

<sup>5</sup> καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker. This seems to be the reading of all the MSS. Wagner alters the passage as follows: καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κειμένην χώραν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ Κιλικίαν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐκάλεσε, "And he called all the country near the river Pyramus after himself Cilicia." But with this rearrangement the words κειμένην χώραν become ungrammatical as they stand, and to restore the grammar they must be transposed and placed after Πυράμῳ, so as to read: καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ποταμῷ σύνεγγυς Πυράμῳ κειμένην χώραν ἄφ' ἑαυτοῦ Κιλικίαν ἐκάλεσε. Hercher simply omits ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ, which is equally fatal to the grammar. It is better to keep the MS. reading, which gives an unobjectionable sense.

<sup>6</sup> ἐν <νήσῳ πρὸς τῇ> Θράκῃ Heyne. This gives the sense

according to Pherecydes, of Cilix,<sup>1</sup> went forth in search of her. But when, after diligent search, they could not find Europa, they gave up the thought of returning home, and took up their abode in divers places; Phoenix settled in Phoenicia; Cilix settled near Phoenicia, and all the country subject to himself near the river Pyramus he called Cilicia; and Cadmus and Telephassa took up their abode in Thrace and in like manner Thasus founded a city Thasus in an island off Thrace and dwelt there.<sup>2</sup>

Now Asterius, prince of the Cretans, married Europa and brought up her children.<sup>3</sup> But when they were grown up, they quarrelled with each other; for they loved a boy called Miletus, son of Apollo by Aria, daughter of Cleochus.<sup>4</sup> As the boy was more friendly to Sarpedon, Minos went to war and had the better of it, and the others fled.

<sup>1</sup> According to some writers, Thasus was a son of Agenor. See above, note on p. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus probably meant to say that Thasus colonized the island of Thasos. The text may be corrupt. See Critical Note. For the traces of the Phoenicians in Thasos, see above, note on p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xii. 292; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 3 (who calls the king Asterius). On the place of Asterion or Asterius in Cretan mythology, see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 543 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> With the following legend of the foundation of Miletus compare Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 30; Pausanias, vii. 2. 5; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 186.

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required. I have translated accordingly. Hercher as usual cuts the difficulty by omitting *ἐν Ἰθάκῃ*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ἀστέριος* Wagner (referring to Diodorus Siculus, iv. 60. 3): *Ἀστέριον* A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

γουσι, καὶ Μίλητος μὲν Καρία προσσχῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐκεῖ πόλιν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔκτισε Μίλητον, Σαρπηδῶν δὲ συμμαχήσας Κίλικι πρὸς Λυκίους ἔχοντι πόλεμον, ἐπὶ μέρει<sup>2</sup> τῆς χώρας, Λυκίας ἐβασίλευσε. καὶ αὐτῷ δίδωσι Ζεὺς ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς ζῆν. ἔνιοι δὲ αὐτοὺς<sup>3</sup> ἐρασθῆναι λέγουσιν Ἀτυμνίου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Κασσιεπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτον στασιάσαι. Ῥαδάμανθυς δὲ τοῖς νησιώταις νομοθετῶν, αὐθις φυγῶν εἰς Βοιωτίαν Ἀλκμήνην γαμεῖ, καὶ μεταλλάξας ἐν Ἄιδου μετὰ Μίνως δικάζει. Μίνως δὲ Κρήτην κατοικῶν ἔγραψε νόμους, καὶ γήμας Πασιφάην τὴν Ἥλιου καὶ Περσηίδος, ὡς <δὲ><sup>4</sup> Ἀσκληπιῶδης φησί, Κρήτην τὴν Ἀστερίου θυγατέρα, παῖδας μὲν ἐτέκνωσε Κατρέα Δευκαλίωνα Γλαῦκον Ἀνδρόγεων, θυγατέρας δὲ Ἀκάλλην Ξενοδίκην Ἀριάδνην Φαίδραν, ἐκ Παρείας δὲ νύμφης Εὐρυμέδοντα Νηφαλίωνα Χρύσην Φιλόλαον, ἐκ δὲ Δεξιθέας Εὐξάνθιον.

- 3 Ἀστερίου<sup>5</sup> δὲ ἄπαιδος ἀποθανόντος Μίνως βασιλεύειν θέλων Κρήτης ἐκωλύετο. φήσας δὲ παρὰ θεῶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφέναι, τοῦ πιστευ-

<sup>1</sup> προσσχῶν Heyne: προσχῶν A.

<sup>2</sup> μέρει Heyne: μέρη A.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοὺς Wagner: αὐτὸν A. <sup>4</sup> δὲ inserted by Müller.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀστερίου A, Wagner: Ἀστερίωνος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Herodotus, i. 173; Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 3; Strabo, xii. 8. 5, p. 573; Pausanias, vii. 3. 7. Sarpedon was worshipped as a hero in Lycia. See W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, No. 552 (vol. ii. p. 231).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 1 sq.

<sup>3</sup> See above, ii. 4. 11 note.

<sup>4</sup> Daughter of the Sun; compare Apollonius Rhodius,

Miletus landed in Caria and there founded a city which he called Miletus after himself; and Sarpedon allied himself with Cilix, who was at war with the Lycians, and having stipulated for a share of the country, he became king of Lycia.<sup>1</sup> And Zeus granted him to live for three generations. But some say that they loved Atymnius, the son of Zeus and Cassiepea, and that it was about him that they quarrelled. Rhadamanthys legislated for the islanders<sup>2</sup> but afterwards he fled to Boeotia and married Alcmena<sup>3</sup>; and since his departure from the world he acts as judge in Hades along with Minos. Minos, residing in Crete, passed laws, and married Pasiphae, daughter of the Sun<sup>4</sup> and Perseis; but Asclepiades says that his wife was Crete, daughter of Asterius. He begat sons, to wit, Catreus,<sup>5</sup> Deucalion, Glaucus, and Androgeus: and daughters, to wit, Acale, Xenodice, Ariadne, Phaedra; and by a nymph Paria he had Eurymedon, Nephalion, Chryses, and Philolaus; and by Dexithea he had Euxanthius.

Asterius dying childless, Minos wished to reign over Crete, but his claim was opposed. So he alleged that he had received the kingdom from the gods,

*Argon.* iii. 999; Pausanias, iii. 26. 1, v. 25. 9; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 41; *Mythographi Graeci*, ed. Westermann, *Appendix Narrationum*, p. 379; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 736. Pausanias interpreted Pasiphae as the moon (iii. 26. 1), and this interpretation has been adopted by some modern scholars. The Cretan traditions concerning the marriage of Minos and Pasiphae seem to point to a ritual marriage performed every eight years at Cnossus by the king and queen as representatives respectively of the Sun and Moon. See *The Dying God*, pp. 70 *sqq.*; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 521 *sqq.* (who holds that Europa was originally a Cretan Earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year).

<sup>5</sup> Compare Pausanias, viii. 53. 4.

θῆναι χάριν ἔφη, ὅ τι ἂν εὔξηται, γενέσθαι. καὶ Ποσειδῶνι θύων ἠΰξατο ταῦρον ἀναφανῆναι ἐκ τῶν βυθῶν, καταθύσειν ὑποσχόμενος τὸν φανέντα. τοῦ δὲ Ποσειδῶνος ταῦρον ἀνέντος αὐτῷ διαπρεπῆ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε, τὸν δὲ ταῦρον εἰς τὰ βουκόλια πέμψας ἔθυσεν ἕτερον. [θαλασσοκρατήσας δὲ πρῶτος πασῶν τῶν νήσων σχεδὸν ἐπήρξεν.]<sup>1</sup> ὀργισθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ Ποσειδῶν ὅτι μὴ κατέθυσε τὸν ταῦρον, τοῦτον μὲν ἐξηγρίωσε, Πασιφάην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοῦ παρεσκεύασεν. ἡ δὲ ἐρασθεῖσα τοῦ ταύρου συνεργὸν λαμβάνει Δαίδαλον, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων, πεφευγῶς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἐπὶ φόνῳ. οὗτος ξυλίην βοῦν ἐπὶ τροχῶν κατασκευάσας, καὶ ταύτην λαβὼν καὶ<sup>2</sup> κοιλάνας ἔνδοθεν,<sup>3</sup> ἐκδείρας τε βοῦν τὴν δορὰν περιέρραψε, καὶ θεὸς ἐν ᾧπερ εἶθιστο ὁ ταῦρος λειμῶνι βόσκεισθαι, τὴν Πασιφάην ἐνεβίβασεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ ταῦρος ὡς ἀληθινῆ βοῇ συνῆλθεν. ἡ δὲ Ἀστέριον ἐγέννησε τὸν κληθέντα Μινώταυρον. οὗτος εἶχε ταύρου πρόσωπον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀνδρός. Μίνως δὲ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ κατὰ τινὰς χρησμοὺς κατακλείσας αὐτὸν ἐφύλαττεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ λαβύρινθος, ὃν Δαίδαλος κατεσκεύασεν, οἶκημα καμ-

<sup>1</sup> θαλασσοκρατήσας . . . ἐπήρξεν omitted by Hercher. The words seem out of place here. But they occur in S as well as E. ἐπήρξεν ES: ὑπήρξεν A.

<sup>2</sup> λαβὼν καὶ Heyne, Westermann, Müller: βαλὼν ESA, Wagner: βαλὼν καὶ Bekker. <sup>3</sup> ἔνδοθεν ES: ἔσωθεν A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 77. 2; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 479 sqq. (who seems to follow Apollodorus); Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* v. 431, according to whom the bull was sent, in answer to Minos's prayer, not by Poseidon but by Jupiter (Zeus).

and in proof of it he said that whatever he prayed for would be done. And in sacrificing to Poseidon he prayed that a bull might appear from the depths, promising to sacrifice it when it appeared. Poseidon did send him up a fine bull, and Minos obtained the kingdom, but he sent the bull to the herds and sacrificed another.<sup>1</sup> Being the first to obtain the dominion of the sea, he extended his rule over almost all the islands.<sup>2</sup> But angry at him for not sacrificing the bull, Poseidon made the animal savage, and contrived that Pasiphae should conceive a passion for it.<sup>3</sup> In her love for the bull she found an accomplice in Daedalus, an architect, who had been banished from Athens for murder.<sup>4</sup> He constructed a wooden cow on wheels, took it, hollowed it out in the inside, sewed it up in the hide of a cow which he had skinned, and set it in the meadow in which the bull used to graze. Then he introduced Pasiphae into it; and the bull came and coupled with it, as if it were a real cow. And she gave birth to Asterius, who was called the Minotaur. He had the face of a bull, but the rest of him was human; and Minos, in compliance with certain oracles, shut him up and guarded him in the Labyrinth. Now the Labyrinth which Daedalus constructed was a chamber "that

<sup>2</sup> Compare Herodotus, i. 171; Thucydides, i. 4 and 8.

<sup>3</sup> Here Apollodorus seems to be following Euripides, who in a fragment of his drama, *The Cretans*, introduces Pasiphae excusing herself on the ground that her passion for the bull was a form of madness inflicted on her by Poseidon as a punishment for the impiety of her husband Minos, who had broken his vow by not sacrificing the bull to the sea-god. See W. Schubart und U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Griechische Dichterfragmente*, ii. (Berlin, 1907), pp. 74 sq.

<sup>4</sup> See below, iii. 15. 8.

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παῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Μινωταύρου καὶ Ἀνδρόγεω καὶ Φαίδρας καὶ Ἀριάδνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θησέως ἕστερον ἐροῦμεν.

II. Κατρέως δὲ τοῦ Μίνως Ἀερόπη καὶ Κλυμένη καὶ Ἀπημοσύνη καὶ Ἀλθαιμένης υἱὸς γίνονται. χρωμένω δὲ Κατρεῖ περὶ καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου ὁ θεὸς ἔφη ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τῶν τέκνων<sup>1</sup> τεθνήξεσθαι. Κατρέως μὲν οὖν ἀπεκρύβητο τοὺς χρησμούς, Ἀλθαιμένης δὲ ἀκούσας, καὶ δέισας μὴ φονεὺς γένηται τοῦ πατρός, ἄρας ἐκ Κρήτης μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἀπημοσύνης προσίσχει τινὶ τόπῳ τῆς Ῥόδου, καὶ κατασχὼν Κρητινίαν<sup>2</sup> ὠνόμασεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀταβύριον καλούμενον ὄρος ἐθεύσατο τὰς πέριξ νήσους, κατιδὼν δὲ καὶ Κρήτην, καὶ τῶν πατρώων ὑπομνησθεὶς θεῶν, ἰδρῦετο βωμὸν Ἀταβυρίου Διός. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τέκνων R: παίδων A.

<sup>2</sup> κρητινίαν R, Hercher, Wagner: κρατινίαν A: Κρητηνίαν Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker (compare Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Κρητηνία).

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<sup>1</sup> In the Greek original these words are seemingly a quotation from a poem, probably a tragedy—perhaps Sophocles's tragedy *Daedalus*, of which a few fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 167 sq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 110 sqq. As to the Minotaur and the labyrinth, compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 77. 1-5; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 15 sqq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 40; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Achill.* 192. As to the loves of Pasiphae and the bull, see also Scholiast on Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 887; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, i. 479 sqq.; Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 45 sqq.; Ovid, *Ars Amator.* i. 289 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See below, iii. 15. 7-9; *Epitome*, i. 7-11.

with its tangled windings perplexed the outward way."<sup>1</sup> The story of the Minotaur, and Androgeus, and Phaedra, and Ariadne, I will tell hereafter in my account of Theseus.<sup>2</sup>

II. But Catreus, son of Minos, had three daughters, Aerope, Clymene, and Apemosyne, and a son, Althaemenes.<sup>3</sup> When Catreus inquired of the oracle how his life should end, the god said that he would die by the hand of one of his children. Now Catreus hid the oracles, but Althaemenes heard of them, and fearing to be his father's murderer, he set out from Crete with his sister Apemosyne, and put in at a place in Rhodes, and having taken possession of it he called it Cretinia. And having ascended the mountain called Atabyrium, he beheld the islands round about; and descriing Crete also and calling to mind the gods of his fathers he founded an altar of Atabyrian Zeus.<sup>4</sup> But not long afterwards he

<sup>1</sup> The tragic story of the involuntary parricide of Althaemenes is similarly told by Diodorus Siculus, v. 59. 1-4, who says that this murderer of his father and of his sister was afterwards worshipped as a hero in Rhodes.

<sup>2</sup> As to Atabyrian Zeus and his sanctuary on Mount Atabyrium, Atabyrum, or Atabyris, the highest mountain in Rhodes, see Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 87 (159) *sq.*; Polybius, vii. 27. 7, ed. L. Dindorf; Appian, *Bell. Mithridat.* 26; Strabo, xiv. 2. 12, p. 655; Diodorus Siculus, v. 59. 2; Lactantius, *Divin. Institut.* i. 22. Diodorus Siculus tells us that the sanctuary, crowning a lofty peak, was highly venerated down to his own time, and that the island of Crete was visible from it in the distance. Some rude remains of the temple, built of grey limestone, still exist on a summit a little lower than the highest. See H. F. Tozer, *The Islands of the Aegean* (Oxford, 1890), pp. 220 *sq.*; Cecil Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times*, (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 1, 75. Atabyrian Zeus would seem to have been worshipped in the form of a bull; for it is said that there were bronze images of cattle on the mountain, which bellowed



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ἀδελφῆς αὐτόχειρ ἐγένετο. Ἑρμῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἔρασθεις, ὡς φεύγουσαν αὐτὴν καταλαβεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο (περιῆν γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ τάχει τῶν ποδῶν), κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ βύρσας ὑπέστρωσε νεοδάρτους,<sup>1</sup> ἐφ' αἷς<sup>2</sup> ὀλισθοῦσα,<sup>3</sup> ἠνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης<sup>4</sup> ἐπανήει, φθείρεται. καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ μνηύει τὸ γεγονός· ὁ δὲ σκῆψιν νομίσας εἶναι τὸν θεόν, λαξ<sup>2</sup> ἐνθροῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἀερόπην δὲ καὶ Κλυμένην Κατρεὺς Ναυπλίῳ δίδωσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὰς ἠπίρους ἀπεμπολῆσαι. τούτων Ἀερόπην μὲν ἔγημε Πλεισθένης καὶ παῖδας Ἀγαμέμνονα καὶ Μενέλαον ἐτέκνωσε,<sup>5</sup> Κλυμένην δὲ γαμεῖ Ναύπλιος, καὶ τέκνων πατὴρ γίνεται Οἶακος καὶ Παλαμήδους. Κατρεὺς δὲ ὕστερον γῆρα κατεχόμενος ἐπόθει τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλθαιμένει τῷ παιδί παραδοῦναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθεν εἰς Ῥόδον. ἀποβάς δὲ τῆς νεῶς σὺν τοῖς ἥρωσι<sup>6</sup> κατὰ τινα τῆς νήσου τόπον ἔρημον ἠλαύνετο ὑπὸ τῶν βουκόλων, ληστὰς ἐμβεβληκένας δοκούντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν κραυγὴν τῶν κυνῶν, ἀλλὰ βαλλόντων

<sup>1</sup> νεοδάρτους ER: νεοδάρτας A.

<sup>2</sup> αἷς Heyne, Hercher: ἄς EA, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> ὀλισθοῦσα E: ὀλισθήσασα A.

<sup>4</sup> κρήνης Hercher, Wagner: κρήτης FA.

<sup>5</sup> ἐτέκνωσε ERR<sup>a</sup>: ἔτεκε A.

<sup>6</sup> Κρησι Bekker.

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when some evil was about to befall the state, and small bronze figures of bulls are still sometimes found on the mountain. See J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 390 sqq.; Scholiast on Pindar, *Olymp.* vii. 87 (159); Cecil Torr, *op. cit.* p. 76, with plate 4. Further, we know from Greek inscriptions found in

became the murderer of his sister. For Hermes loved her, and as she fled from him and he could not catch her, because she excelled him in speed of foot, he spread fresh hides on the path, on which, returning from the spring, she slipped and so was deflowered. She revealed to her brother what had happened, but he, deeming the god a mere pretext, kicked her to death. And Catreus gave Aerope and Clymene to Nauplius to sell into foreign lands; and of these two Aerope became the wife of Plisthenes, who begat Agamemnon and Menelaus; and Clymene became the wife of Nauplius, who became the father of Oeax and Palamedes. But afterwards in the grip of old age Catreus yearned to transmit the kingdom to his son Althaemenes, and went for that purpose to Rhodes. And having landed from the ship with the heroes at a desert place of the island, he was chased by the cowherds, who imagined that they were pirates on a raid. He told them the truth, but they could not hear him for the barking of the dogs, and while they pelted him Althaemenes arrived

the island that there was a religious association which took its name of *The Atabyriasts* from the deity; and one of these inscriptions (No. 31) records a dedication of oxen or bulls (*taís Boús*) to the god. See *Inscriptiones Graecae Insularum Rhodi, Chalces, Carpathi, cum Sáro Casi*, ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen (Berlin, 1895), Nos. 31, 161, 891. The oxen so dedicated were probably bronze images of the animals, such as are found in the island, though Dittenberger thought that they were live oxen destined for sacrifice. See his paper, *De sacris Rhodiorum Commentatio altera* (Halle, 1887), pp. viii. sq. The worship of Atabyrian Zeus may well have been of Phoenician origin, for we have seen that there was a Phoenician colony in Rhodes (see above, iii. 1. 1 note), and the name Atabyrian is believed to be Semitic, equivalent to the Hebrew Tabor. See *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v. "Tabor," vol. iii. col. 4881 sqq. Compare A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, i. 642 sqq.

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κάκείνων, παραγεγόμενος Ἀλθαιμένης ἀκουτίσας ἀπέκτεινεν ἀγνοῶν Κατρέα. μαθὼν δὲ ὕστερον τὸ γεγονός, εὐξάμενος ὑπὸ χάσματος ἐκρύβη.

III. Δευκαλίωνι δὲ ἐγένοντο Ἰδομενεὺς τε καὶ Κρήτη καὶ νόθος Μόλος. Γλαῦκος δὲ ἔτι νήπιος ὑπάρχων, μὴν διώκων εἰς μέλιτος πίθου πεσὼν ἀπέθανεν. ἀφανοῦς δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ Μίνως πολλὴν ζήτησιν ποιούμενος περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως ἐμαντεύετο. Κούρητες δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ τριχρώματου ἐν ταῖς ἀγέλαις ἔχει βούν, τὸν δὲ τὴν ταύτης χροάν<sup>1</sup> ἄριστα εἰκάσαι δυνηθέντα καὶ ζῶντα τὸν παῖδα ἀποδώσειν. συγκληθέντων δὲ τῶν μάντεων Πολύιδος ὁ Κοιρανοῦ τὴν χροάν τῆς βοῦς εἶκασε βάτου καρπῷ, καὶ ζητεῖν τὸν παῖδα ἀναγκασθεὶς διὰ τινος μαντείας ἀνεῦρε. λέγοντος δὲ Μίνως ὅτι δεῖ καὶ ζῶντα ἀπολαβεῖν αὐτόν, ἀπεκλείσθη σὺν τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ δὲ πολλῇ τυγχάνων εἶδε δράκοντα ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἰόντα· τοῦτον βαλὼν λίθῳ ἀπέκτεινε, δείσας μὴ κἂν<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> χροάν EOR<sup>a</sup>, Hercher, Wagner: θέαν R (with χροάν written as a correction above the line): θέαν BC, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>2</sup> κἂν Bekker: ἂν EA, Wagner.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, v. 79. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Glaucus was a son of Minos and Pasiphae. See above, iii. 1. 2. For the story of his death and resurrection, see Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811; Apostolius, *Cent.* v. 48; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 27; Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; *id. Astronom.* ii. 14. Sophocles and Euripides composed tragedies on the subject. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 216 sqq., 558 sqq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. pp. 56 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> The cow or calf (for so Hyginus describes it) was said to

and killed him with the cast of a javelin, not knowing him to be Catreus. Afterwards when he learned the truth, he prayed and disappeared in a chasm.

III. To Deucalion were born Idomeneus and Crete and a bastard son Molus.<sup>1</sup> But Glaucus, while he was yet a child, in chasing a mouse fell into a jar of honey and was drowned.<sup>2</sup> On his disappearance Minos made a great search and consulted diviners as to how he should find him. The Curetes told him that in his herds he had a cow of three different colours, and that the man who could best describe that cow's colour would also restore his son to him alive.<sup>3</sup> So when the diviners were assembled, Polyidus, son of Coeranus, compared the colour of the cow to the fruit of the bramble, and being compelled to seek for the child he found him by means of a sort of divination.<sup>4</sup> But Minos declaring that he must recover him alive, he was shut up with the dead body. And while he was in great perplexity, he saw a serpent going towards the corpse. He threw a stone and killed it, fearing to be killed himself if

change colour twice a day, or once every four hours, being first white, then red, and then black. The diviner Polyidus solved the riddle by comparing the colour of the animal to a ripening mulberry, which is first white, then red, and finally black. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 136; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811; Sophocles, quoted by Athenaeus, ii. 36, p. 51 D, and Bekker's *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 361, lines 20 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. ii. p. 60, frag. 395.

<sup>4</sup> He is said to have discovered the drowned boy by observing an owl which had perched on a wine-cellar and was driving away bees. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 136. Compare Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* v. 2, from which it would seem that Hyginus here followed the tragedy of *Polyidus* by Euripides.

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αὐτὸς τελευτήσῃ, εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι.<sup>1</sup> ἔρχεται δὲ ἕτερος δράκων, καὶ θεασάμενος νεκρὸν τὸν πρότερον<sup>2</sup> ἄπεισιν, εἶτα ὑποστρέφει πῶαν κομίζων, καὶ ταύτην ἐπιτίθησιν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ ἐτέρου σῶμα· ἐπιτεθείσης δὲ τῆς πῶας ἀνέστη. θεασάμενος δὲ Πολύιδος καὶ θαυμάσας, τὴν αὐτὴν πῶαν προσενεγκῶν τῷ τοῦ Γλαύκου σώματι ἀνέστησεν.  
<sup>2</sup> ἀπολαβὼν δὲ Μίνως τὸν παῖδα οὐδ' οὕτως εἰς Ἄργος ἀπιέναι τὸν Πολύιδον εἶα, πρὶν ἢ τὴν μαντείαν διδάξαι τὸν Γλαῦκον· ἀναγκασθεὶς δὲ Πολύιδος διδάσκει. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέπλει, κελεύει τὸν Γλαῦκον εἰς τὸ στόμα ἐμπτύσαι.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσας Γλαῦκος τῆς μαντείας<sup>4</sup> ἐπελάθετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπογόνων μέχρι τοῦδέ μοι λελέχθω.

IV. Κάδμος δὲ ἀποθανοῦσαν θάψας Τηλέφασσαν, ὑπὸ Θρακῶν ξενισθεὶς, ἦλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπε περὶ μὲν Εὐρώπης μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν, χρῆσθαι δὲ καθοδηγῶ βοῖ, καὶ πόλιν κτίζειν

<sup>1</sup> εἴ τι τὸ σῶμα πάθοι Bekker: εἰ τούτῳ συμπάθη E, Wagner: εἰ τοῦτο συμπάθη A: εἰ τούτῳ συμπάθοι Heyne, Müller: εἰ τοῦτο συμπάθοι Westermann.

<sup>2</sup> πρότερον ER (first hand): πρῶτον R (second hand, corrected).

<sup>3</sup> ἐμπτύσαι Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 811, Heyne (in note), Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἐπιπτύσαι EA, Heyne (in text), Westermann, Müller.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς μαντείας E: τὴν μαντείαν A.

<sup>1</sup> Accepting Bekker's emendation of the text. See Critical Note.

<sup>2</sup> According to another account, Glaucus was raised from the dead by Aesculapius. See below, iii. 10. 3; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 54 (96); Hyginus, *Fab.* 49; *id. Astronom.*

any harm befel the body.<sup>1</sup> But another serpent came, and, seeing the former one dead, departed, and then returned, bringing a herb, and placed it on the whole body of the other; and no sooner was the herb so placed upon it than the dead serpent came to life. Surprised at this sight, Polyidus applied the same herb to the body of Glaucus and raised him from the dead.<sup>2</sup> Minos had now got back his son, but even so he did not suffer Polyidus to depart to Argos until he had taught Glaucus the art of divination. Polyidus taught him on compulsion, and when he was sailing away he bade Glaucus spit into his mouth. Glaucus did so and forgot the art of divination.<sup>3</sup> Thus much must suffice for my account of the descendants of Europa.

IV. When Telephassa died, Cadmus buried her, and after being hospitably received by the Thracians he came to Delphi to inquire about Europa. The god told him not to trouble about Europa, but to be guided by a cow, and to found a city wherever

ii. 14. In a Tongan tradition a dead boy is brought to life by being covered with the leaves of a certain tree. See Père Reiter, "Traditions Tonguiennes," *Anthropos*, xii.-xiii. (1917-1918), pp. 1036 sq.; and Appendix, "The Resurrection of Glaucus."

<sup>3</sup> It is said that when Cassandra refused to grant her favours to Apollo in return for the gift of prophecy which he had bestowed on her, he spat into her mouth and so prevented her from convincing anybody of the truth of her prophecies. See Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 247. On ancient superstitions about spittle, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 35 sq.; C. de Mensignac, *Recherches Ethnographiques sur la Salive et le Crachat* (Bordeaux, 1892), pp. 41 sqq.

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ἔνθα ἂν αὐτῆ<sup>1</sup> πέσῃ καμοῦσα. τοιοῦτον λαβὼν χρησμὸν διὰ Φωκέων ἐπορεύετο, εἶτα βοῶν συντυχῶν ἐν τοῖς Πελάγοντος βουκολίοις ταύτη κατόπισθεν εἶπετο. ἡ δὲ διεξιούσα Βοιωτίαν ἐκλίθη, πόλις ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι.<sup>2</sup> βουλόμενος δὲ Ἀθηναῖα καταθύσαι τὴν βοῦν, πέμπει τινὰς τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ληψομένους<sup>3</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρείας κρήνης ὕδωρ· φρουρῶν δὲ τὴν κρήνην δράκων, ὃν ἔξ Ἄρεος εἶπόν τινες γεγονέναι, τοὺς πλείονας τῶν πεμφθέντων διέφθειρεν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ Κάδμος κτείνει τὸν δράκοντα, καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναῖας ὑποθεμένης τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ σπείρει. τούτων δὲ σπαρέντων ἀνέτειλαν ἐκ γῆς ἄνδρες ἔνοπλοι, οὓς ἐκάλεσαν Σπαρτούς. οὗτοι δὲ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους, οἱ μὲν εἰς ἔριν ἀκούσιον<sup>4</sup> ἐλθόντες, οἱ δὲ ἀγνοοῦντες. Φερεκύδης δὲ φησιν ὅτι Κάδμος, ἰδὼν ἐκ γῆς ἀναφυομένους ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους, ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆ Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494, Hercher: αὐτῆ AS.

<sup>2</sup> πόλις ἔνθα νῦν εἰσι Θῆβαι A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: ἔνθα κτίζει πόλιν Καδμείαν ὅπου νῦν εἰσιν αἱ Θῆβαι E: πόλις omitted by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494 (ἔνθα νῦν εἰσιν αἱ Θῆβαι), and by Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> τινὰς . . . ληψομένους E, Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494: τινὰ ληψόμενον SA.

<sup>4</sup> ἀκούσιον AS: ἐκούσιον E.

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<sup>1</sup> With this story of the foundation of Thebes by Cadmus compare Pausanias, ix. 12. 1 sq., ix. 19. 4; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 638 (who quotes the oracle at full length); Scholiast on Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 486; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 6 sqq. The Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) agrees almost verbally with Apollodorus, and cites as his authorities the *Boeotica* of Hellanicus and the third book of Apollodorus. Hence we may suppose that in this narrative Apollodorus followed Hellanicus. According to Pausanias, the cow which

she should fall down for weariness.<sup>1</sup> After receiving such an oracle he journeyed through Phocis; then falling in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon, he followed it behind. And after traversing Boeotia, it sank down where is now the city of Thebes. Wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, he sent some of his companions to draw water from the spring of Ares. But a dragon, which some said was the offspring of Ares, guarded the spring and destroyed most of those that were sent. In his indignation Cadmus killed the dragon, and by the advice of Athena sowed its teeth. When they were sown there rose from the ground armed men whom they called Sparti.<sup>2</sup> These slew each other, some in a chance brawl, and some in ignorance. But Pherecydes says that when Cadmus saw armed men growing up out of the ground, he flung stones

Cadmus followed bore on each flank a white mark resembling the full moon; Hyginus says simply that it had the mark of the moon on its flank. Varro says (*Rerum rusticarum*, iii. 1) that Thebes in Boeotia was the oldest city in the world, having been built by King Ogyges before the great flood. The tradition of its high antiquity has been recently confirmed by the discovery of many Mycenaean remains on the site. See A. D. Kerampoullos, in *Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον* (Athens, 1917), pp. 1 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> That is, "sown." Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 939 *sq.* For the story of the sowing of the dragon's teeth, see Pausanias, ix. 10. 1; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* ii. 494; Hyginus, *Fab.* 178; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 26-130. Similarly, Jason in Colchis sowed some of the dragon's teeth which he had received from Athena, and from the teeth there sprang up armed men, who fought each other. See Apollodorus, i. 9. 23. As to the dragon-guarded spring at Thebes, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 930 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 10. 5, with my note. It is a common superstition that springs are guarded by dragons or serpents. Compare *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, ii. 155 *sqq.*



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ἔβαλε<sup>1</sup> λίθους, οἱ δὲ ὑπ' ἀλλήλων νομίζοντες βάλλεσθαι εἰς μάχην κατέστησαν. περιεσώθησαν δὲ πέντε, Ἐχίων Οὐδαῖος Χθονίος Ἵπερή-  
<sup>2</sup> νωρ Πέλωρος.<sup>2</sup> Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν αἰδίου<sup>3</sup> ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτῶ ἔτη.

Μετὰ δὲ τὴν θητείαν Ἀθηνᾶ αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν<sup>4</sup> κατεσκεύασε, Ζεὺς δὲ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα Ἄρμονίαν, Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἄρεος θυγατέρα. καὶ πάντες θεοὶ καταλιπόντες τὸν οὐρανόν, ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ τὸν γάμον εὐωχούμενοι καθύμνησαν. ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτῇ Κάδμος πέπλον καὶ τὸν ἠφαιστότευκτον ὄρμον, ὃν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου λέγουσιν ὅτινες δοθῆναι Κάδμῳ, Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Εὐρώπης· ὃν παρὰ Διὸς αὐτὴν λαβεῖν. γίνονται δὲ Κάδμῳ θυγατέρες μὲν Αὐτονόη Ἰνώ Σεμέλη Ἀγαυή, παῖς δὲ Πολύδωρος. Ἰνώ μὲν οὖν Ἀθάμας ἔγημεν, Αὐτονόην δὲ Ἀρισταῖος, Ἀγαυὴν δὲ Ἐχίων.  
<sup>3</sup> Σεμέλης δὲ Ζεὺς ἐρασθεὶς Ἥρας κρύφα συνεννά-

<sup>1</sup> ἔβαλε A : ἔβαλλε S.

<sup>2</sup> Πέλωρος R : Πέλωρ A.

<sup>3</sup> αἰδίου EA : Ἄρεος υἱόν Hercher.

<sup>4</sup> τὴν βασιλείαν E : βασιλείαν S.

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<sup>1</sup> The names of the five survivors of the Sparti are similarly reported by Pausanias (ix. 5. 3), the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (*Argon.* iii. 1179), and Hyginus (*Fab.* 179). From the Scholiast on Apollonius (*l.c.*), we learn that their names were given in like manner by Pherecydes, as indeed we might have inferred from Apollodorus's reference to that author in the present passage. Ovid (*Metamorph.* iii. 126) mentions that five survived, but he names only one (Echion).

<sup>2</sup> The "eternal year" probably refers to the old eight years' cycle, as to which and the period of a homicide's banishment, see the note on ii. 5. 11.

<sup>3</sup> As to the marriage of Cadmus and Harmonia, see Pindar,

at them, and they, supposing that they were being pelted by each other, came to blows. However, five of them survived, Echion, Udaeus, Chthonius, Hypenor, and Pelorus.<sup>1</sup> But Cadmus, to atone for the slaughter, served Ares for an eternal year; and the year was then equivalent to eight years of our reckoning.<sup>2</sup>

After his servitude Athena procured for him the kingdom, and Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, daughter of Aphrodite and Ares. And all the gods quitted the sky, and feasting in the Cadmea celebrated the marriage with hymns.<sup>3</sup> Cadmus gave her a robe and the necklace wrought by Hephaestus, which some say was given to Cadmus by Hephaestus, but Pherecydes says that it was given by Europa, who had received it from Zeus.<sup>4</sup> And to Cadmus were born daughters, Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave, and a son Polydorus.<sup>5</sup> Ino was married to Athamas, Autonoe to Aristaeus, and Agave to Echion. But Zeus loved Semele and bedded with her unknown to

*Pyth.* iii. 88 (157) *sqq.*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 822 *sq.*; Theognis, 15-18; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 1, v. 48. 5, v. 49. 1; Pausanias, iii. 18. 12, ix. 12. 3; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 101 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 78, who calls the wife Hermiona).

<sup>4</sup> According to another account, this golden necklace was bestowed by Aphrodite on Cadmus or on Harmonia. See Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 5; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 94 (167); Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 71. But, according to yet another account, the necklace and robe were both bestowed by Athena. See Diodorus Siculus, v. 49. 1. The Second Vatican Mythographer (78, see preceding note) says that the necklace was made by Vulcan (Hephaestus) at the instigation of Minerva (Athena), and that it was bestowed by him on Harmonia at her marriage.

<sup>5</sup> Compare Hesiod, *Theog.* 975-978; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2. 1. As to the daughters Semele and Ino, compare Pindar, *Olymp.* ii. 22 (38) *sqq.*



**BOOK III**

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κέρτην εἰς πεπυρωμένον λέβητα ρίψασα, εἶτα βαστάσασα μετὰ νεκροῦ τοῦ παιδὸς ἤλατο κατὰ βυθοῦ.<sup>1</sup> καὶ Λευκοθέα μὲν αὐτὴ καλεῖται, Παλαίμων δὲ ὁ παῖς, οὕτως ὀνομασθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν πλεόντων· τοῖς χειμαζομένοις γὰρ βοηθοῦσιν. ἐτέθη δὲ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτη <ὁ><sup>2</sup> ἀγὼν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, Σισύφου θέντος. Διόνυσον δὲ Ζεὺς εἰς ἔριφον ἀλλάξας τὸν Ἦρας θυμὸν ἔκλεψε, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν Ἑρμῆς πρὸς νύμφας ἐκόμισεν ἐν Νύσῃ κατοικοῦσας τῆς Ἀσίας, ἃς ὕστερον Ζεὺς καταστερίσας ὠνόμασεν Ἰάδας.

<sup>1</sup> βυθοῦ ES : βυθῶν A.      <sup>2</sup> ὁ inserted by Hercher.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 229; Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthm., Argum.* p. 514, ed. Boeckh.

<sup>2</sup> On Ino and Melicertes see also Pausanias, i. 42. 6, i. 44. 7 sq., ii. 1. 3, iv. 34. 4; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 107, 229-231; Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* viii. 86, and on *Od.* v. 334; Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 1284; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2 and 4; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 519-542; *id. Fasti*, vi. 491 sqq.; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* v. 241; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* i. 12; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 102 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 79).

<sup>3</sup> On the foundation of the Isthmian games in honour of Melicertes, see Pausanias, i. 44. 8, ii. 1. 3; Scholiasts on Pindar, *Isthm., Argum.* pp. 514, 515, ed. Boeckh; Scholiasts on Euripides, *Medea*, 1284; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 29, ed. Potter; Zenobius, *Cent.* iv. 38; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 107, 229-231; Hyginus, *Fab.* 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dionysus bore the title of Kid. See Hesychius, s.v. Ἐριφος ὁ Διόνυσος; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Ἀκράρεια. When the gods fled into Egypt to escape the fury of Typhon, Dionysus is said to have been turned into a goat. See Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 28; Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 39; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 29 (First Vatican Mythographer, 86). As a god of fertility, Dionysus appears to have been conceived as embodied, now

cauldron,<sup>1</sup> then carrying it with the dead child she sprang into the deep. And she herself is called Leucothoe, and the boy is called Palaemon, such being the names they get from sailors; for they succour storm-tossed mariners.<sup>2</sup> And the Isthmian games were instituted by Sisyphus in honour of Melicertes.<sup>3</sup> But Zeus eluded the wrath of Hera by turning Dionysus into a kid,<sup>4</sup> and Hermes took him and brought him to the nymphs who dwelt at Nysa in Asia, whom Zeus afterwards changed into stars and named them the Hyades.<sup>5</sup>

in the form of a goat, now in the form of a bull; and his worshippers accordingly entered into communion with him by rending and devouring live goats and bulls. See *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 12 *sqq.*, ii. 1 *sqq.* The goat was the victim regularly sacrificed in the rites of Dionysus, because the animal injured the vine by gnawing it; but the reason thus alleged for the sacrifice may have been a later interpretation. See Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 380-384, who refers the origin both of tragedy and of comedy to these sacrifices of goats in honour of the wine-god. Compare Varro, *Rerum Rusticarum*, i. 2. 19; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 353 *sqq.*; Cornutus, *Theologiae Graecae Compendium*, 30; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 118.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus seems here to be following Pherecydes, who related how the infant Dionysus was nursed by the Hyades. See the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xviii. 486; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 21; Scholiast on Germanicus, *Aratea* (in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt, p. 396); *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, i. 84. Frag. 46. Nothing could be more appropriate than that the god of the vine should be nursed by the nymphs of the rain. According to Diodorus Siculus (iii. 59. 2, iii. 64. 5, iii. 65. 7, iii. 66. 3), Nysa, the place where the nymphs reared Dionysus, was in Arabia, which is certainly not a rainy country; but he admits (iii. 66. 4, iii. 67. 5) that others placed Nysa in Africa, or, as he calls it, Libya, away in the west beside the great ocean. Herodotus speaks of Nysa as "in Ethiopia, above Egypt" (ii. 146), and he mentions "the Ethiopians who

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- 4 Αὐτονόης δὲ καὶ Ἀρισταίου παῖς Ἀκταίων ἐγένετο, ὃς τραφεῖς παρὰ Χείρωνι κυνηγὸς ἐδιδάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα ὕστερον<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι κατεβρώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν. καὶ τοῦτον ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον, ὡς μὲν Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, μνησίαντος τοῦ Διὸς ὅτι ἐμνηστεύσατο Σεμέλην, ὡς δὲ οἱ πλείονες, ὅτι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λουομένην εἶδε. καὶ φασὶ τὴν θεὸν παραχρῆμα αὐτοῦ τὴν μορφήν εἰς ἔλαφον ἀλλάξαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐπομένοις αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα κυσὶν ἐμβαλεῖν λύσσαν, ὑφ' ὧν κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐβρώθη. ἀπολομένου<sup>2</sup> δὲ Ἀκταίωνος<sup>3</sup> οἱ κύνες ἐπιζητοῦντες τὸν δεσπότην καταρούοντο, καὶ ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι παρεγένοντο ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Χείρωνος ἄντρον, ὃς εἶδωλον κατεσκεύασεν Ἀκταίωνος, ὃ καὶ τὴν λύπην αὐτῶν ἔπαυσε.

[τὰ<sup>4</sup> ὀνόματα τῶν Ἀκταίωνος κυνῶν ἐκ τῶν . . .  
οὔτω

δὴ νῦν καλὸν σῶμα περισταδόν, ἥντε θῆρος,  
τοῦδε δάσαντο κύνες κρατεροί. πέλας † Ἄρκενα<sup>5</sup>  
πρώτη..

<sup>1</sup> ἔπειτα ὕστερον ES. ἔπειτα is apparently omitted in the other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπολομένου R : ἀπολλυμένου A.

<sup>3</sup> Ἀκταίωνος ESA : Ἀκταίωνος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> The passage enclosed in square brackets, which contains a list of Actaeon's dogs, has probably been interpolated from some other source. It is wanting in the Vatican Epitome (E) and the Sabhaitic fragments (S.).

<sup>5</sup> Ἄρκενα A : Ἄρκενα Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker : Ἄρκενα Scaliger : Ἄρκενα Mitscherlich : Ἄρκενα Bergk.

Autonoe and Aristaeus had a son Actaeon, who was bred by Chiron to be a hunter and then afterwards was devoured on Cithaeron by his own dogs.<sup>1</sup> He perished in that way, according to Acusilaus, because Zeus was angry at him for wooing Semele; but according to the more general opinion, it was because he saw Artemis bathing. And they say that the goddess at once transformed him into a deer, and drove mad the fifty dogs in his pack, which devoured him unwittingly. Actaeon being gone, the dogs sought their master howling lamentably, and in the search they came to the cave of Chiron, who fashioned an image of Actaeon, which soothed their grief.

The names of Actaeon's dogs from the . . . .

So

Now surrounding his fair body, as it were that of a  
beast,

The strong dogs rent it. Near Arcena first.

dwell about sacred Nysa and hold the festivals in honour of Dionysus" (iii. 97). But in fact Nysa was sought by the ancients in many different and distant lands and was probably mythical, perhaps invented to explain the name of Dionysus. See Stephanus Byzantius and Hesychius, *s.v. Νύσα*; A. Wiedemann, on Herodotus, ii. 146; T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, on *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, i. 8. p. 4.

<sup>1</sup> As to Actaeon and his dogs, see Diodorus Siculus, iv. 3-5; Nonnus, *Dionys.* v. 287 *sqq.*; Palaephatus, *De incredib.* 3; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 6, p. 360; Hyginus, *Fab.* 181; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 138 *sq.*; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* iii. 3; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 103 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 81). Hyginus and Ovid give lists of the dogs' names.



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. . . μετὰ ταύτην ἄλκιμα τέκνα,  
Λυγκεὺς καὶ Βαλῖος<sup>1</sup> πόδας αἰνετός, ἠδ' Ἀμά-  
ρυθος.—

καὶ τούτους ὀνομαστὶ διηνεκέως κατέλεξε.<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ τότε Ἀκταίων ἔθανεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι.<sup>3</sup>

πρῶτοι γὰρ μέλαν αἷμα πίων<sup>4</sup> σφετέροιο ἄνακτος  
Σπαρτός τ' Ὠμαργός<sup>5</sup> τε Βορῆς τ' αἰψηροκέ-  
λευθος.

οὔτοι δ'<sup>6</sup> Ἀκταίου πρῶτοι φάγον αἷμα τ' ἔλαψαν.<sup>7</sup>  
τούς δὲ μέτ' ἄλλοι πάντες ἐπέσσυθεν<sup>8</sup> ἔμμε-  
μαῶτες.—

ἀργαλέων ὀδυνῶν ἄκος ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποισιν.]

V. Διόνυσος δὲ εὐρετῆς ἀμπέλου γενόμενος,  
Ἥρας μανίαν αὐτῷ ἐμβαλούσης περιπλανᾶται

<sup>1</sup> Βαλῖος Mitscherlich: βανός A.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τούτους ὀνομαστὶ διηνεκέως κατέλεξε Scaliger: καὶ οὗς ὀνομαστὶ διηνεκεν . . ., ὡς καταλέξη Wagner.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τότε Ἀκταίων ἔθανεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker (except that he reads αἰνεσίησι for ἐννεσίησι). ἔθανεν is Aegius's correction of the MS. reading κτεῖναι (A) or κτεῖνε (PR<sup>o</sup>). Wagner edits the passage thus: . . . τότε Ἀκταίων κτεῖναι Διὸς αἰνεσίησι. Bergk proposed to read κτεῖναν for κτεῖναι or κτεῖνε.

<sup>4</sup> πίων Scaliger: ἀπὸ A.  
<sup>5</sup> Ὠμαργος Bekker: ὦν ἀργός A: Οἰαργος Heyne: Ὀμαργος Bergk.

<sup>6</sup> οὔτοι δ' R: οὐ δ' A.

<sup>7</sup> ἔλαψαν Ruhnken: ἔδαψαν A.

<sup>8</sup> ἐπέσσυθεν Scaliger: ἐπέσσυθον A.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the discovery of the vine by Dionysus and the wanderings of the god, see Diodorus Siculus, iii. 62 sq., iv. 1. 6 sq., iv. 2. 5 sqq.; Strabo, xv. 1. 7-9, pp. 687 sq. The story of the roving of Dionysus, and in particular of his journey to India, was probably suggested by a simple observation of the wide geographical diffusion of the vine. Wherever the plant was cultivated and wine made from the grapes, there it would be supposed that the vine-god must have tarried, dispensing the boon or the bane of his gifts to

. . . . after her a mighty brood,  
Lynceus and Balius goodly-footed, and Amaryn-  
thus.—

And these he enumerated continuously by name.  
And then Actaeon perished at the instigation of Zeus.  
For the first that drank their master's black blood  
Were Spartus and Omargus and Bores, the swift on  
the track.

These first ate of Actaeon and lapped his blood.  
And after them others rushed on him eagerly . . . .  
To be a remedy for grievous pains to men.

V. Dionysus discovered the vine,<sup>1</sup> and being  
driven mad by Hera<sup>2</sup> he roamed about Egypt and

mortals. There seems to be some reason to think that the original home of the vine was in the regions to the south of the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian Sea, where the plant still grows wild "with the luxuriant wildness of a tropical creeper, clinging to tall trees and producing abundant fruit without pruning or cultivation." See A. de Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (London, 1884), pp. 191 sqq. Compare A. Engler, in Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien*<sup>7</sup> (Berlin, 1902), pp. 85 sqq. But these regions are precisely those which Dionysus was supposed to have traversed on his journeys. Certainly the idea of the god's wanderings cannot have been suggested, as appears to be sometimes imagined, by the expedition of Alexander the Great to India (see F. A. Voigt, in W. H. Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 1087), since they are described with geographical precision by Euripides, who died before Alexander the Great was born. In his famous play, *The Bacchae* (vv. 13-20), the poet introduces the god himself describing his journey over Lydia, Phrygia, Bactria, Media, and all Asia. And by Asia the poet did not mean the whole continent of Asia as we understand the word, for most of it was unknown to him; he meant only the southern portion of it from the Mediterranean to the Indus, in great part of which the vine appears to be native.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Euripides, *Cyclops*, 3 sq.

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Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ Συρίαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Πρωτεύς αὐτὸν ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων, αὐθις δὲ εἰς Κύβηλα τῆς Φρυγίας ἀφικνεῖται, κακεῖ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥέας καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἐκμαθῶν, καὶ λαβὼν παρ' ἐκείνης τὴν στολήν, [ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς]<sup>1</sup> διὰ τῆς Θράκης ἠπείγετο. Λυκούργος δὲ παῖς Δρύαντος, Ἡδωνῶν βασιλεύων, οὐ Στρυμόνα ποταμὸν παροικοῦσι, πρῶτος ὑβρίσας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. καὶ Διόνυσος μὲν εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς Θέτιν τὴν Νηρέως κατέφυγε, Βάκχαι δὲ ἐγένοντο αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ τὸ συνεπόμενον Σατύρων πλήθος αὐτῶ. αὐθις δὲ αἱ Βάκχαι ἐλύθησαν ἐξαίφνης, Λυκούργῳ δὲ μανίαν ἐνεποίησε<sup>2</sup> Διόνυσος. ὁ δὲ μεμνηὼς Δρύαντα τὸν παῖδα, ἀμπέλου νομίζων κλῆμα κόπτειν, πελέκει πλήξας ἀπέ-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς. These words are out of place here. Wagner is probably right in thinking that we should either omit them (with Hercher) or insert *στρατεύσας* after them, so as to give the meaning: "and after marching against the Indians he hastened through Thrace."

<sup>2</sup> ἐνεποίησε Heyne: ἐποίησε A.

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<sup>1</sup> The visit of Dionysus to Egypt was doubtless invented to explain the close resemblance which the ancients traced between the worships of Osiris and Dionysus. See Herodotus, ii. 42, 49, and 144; Diodorus Siculus, i. 11. 3, i. 13. 5, i. 96. 5, iv. 1. 6; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 28, 34, and 35; Tibullus, i. 7. 29 *sqq.* For the same reason Nysa, the place where Dionysus was supposed to have been reared, was by some people believed to be in the neighbourhood of Egypt. See *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, i. 8 *sq.*; Diodorus Siculus, i. 15. 6, iv. 2. 3.

<sup>2</sup> For the association of Dionysus with Phrygia, see Euripides, *Bacchae*, 58 *sq.*, 78 *sqq.*, where the chorus of Bacchanals is represented escorting Dionysus from the mountains of Phrygia to Greece. According to one account, Dionysus was

Syria. At first he was received by Proteus, king of Egypt,<sup>1</sup> but afterwards he arrived at Cybela in Phrygia.<sup>2</sup> And there, after he had been purified by Rhea and learned the rites of initiation, he received from her the costume and hastened through Thrace against the Indians. But Lycurgus, son of Dryas, was king of the Edonians, who dwell beside the river Strymon, and he was the first who insulted and expelled him.<sup>3</sup> Dionysus took refuge in the sea with Thetis, daughter of Nereus, and the Bacchanals were taken prisoners together with the multitude of Satyrs that attended him. But afterwards the Bacchanals were suddenly released, and Dionysus drove Lycurgus mad. And in his madness he struck his son Dryas dead with an axe, imagining that he was lopping a branch of a vine, and when he had cut off

reared by the great Phrygian goddess Rhea (Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* *Μόσαυρα*). These legends were probably intended to explain the resemblances between the Bacchic and the Phrygian religions, especially in respect of their wild ecstatic and orgiastic rites.

<sup>1</sup> For the story of the hostility of Lycurgus to Dionysus, see Homer, *Il.* vi. 129 *sqq.*, with the Scholia; Sophocles, *Antigone*, 955 *sqq.*; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 273; Hyginus, *Fab.* 132; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 14; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 39 (First Vatican Mythographer, 122). According to Sophocles, it would seem that Lycurgus suffered nothing worse at the hands of his subjects than imprisonment in a cave, where his frenzy gradually subsided. According to Hyginus, Servius, and the First Vatican Mythographer, the furious king, in attempting to cut down the vines, lopped off one of his own feet or even both his legs. It appears to be a common belief that a woodman who cuts a sacred tree with an axe wounds himself in so doing. See W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, pp. 36 *sq.* It is said that when the missionary Jerome of Prague was preaching to the heathen Lithuanians and persuading them to cut down their sacred woods, one of the converts,

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κτεινε, καὶ ἀκρωτηριάσας αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνησε.<sup>1</sup>  
τῆς δὲ γῆς ἀκάρπου μενούσης, ἔχρησεν ὁ θεὸς  
καρποφορήσειν αὐτήν, ἂν θανατωθῆ Λυκοῦργος.  
Ἴδωνοὶ δὲ ἀκούσαντες εἰς τὸ Παγγαῖον αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐσωφρόνησε Aegius: ἐσωφρόνισε A.

moved by his exhortation, struck at an ancient oak with an axe, but wounded himself in the legs and fell to the ground. See Aeneas Sylvius, *Opera* (Bâle, 1571), p. 418 [wrongly numbered 420]. The accident to this zealous convert closely resembles the one which is said to have befallen the Edonian king in a similar attempt on the sacred vine.

<sup>1</sup> Greek murderers used to cut off the extremities, such as the ears and noses, of their victims, fasten them on a string, and tie the string round the necks and under the armpits of the murdered men. One motive assigned for this custom, and probably the original one, was the wish by thus mutilating the dead man to weaken him so that he, or rather his ghost, could not take vengeance on his murderer (*ἴνα, φασίν, ἀσθενῆς γένοιτο πρὸς τὸ ἀντιτίσασθαι τὸν φονέα*, Scholiast on Sophocles, *Electra*, 445; *διὰ τούτων ὥσπερ τὴν δύναμιν ἐκείνων [scil. τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων] ἀφαιρούμενοι, διὰ τὸ μὴ παθεῖν ἐς ὑστερόν τι δεινὸν παρ' ἐκείνων*, Suidas, *s.v.* *μασχαλισθῆναι*). On this barbarous custom see the Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*; Suidas, *l.c.*; Hesychius and Photius, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *μασχαλίσματα*; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 477. According to one account (Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*), the murderer fastened the extremities of his victim about his own person, but the better attested and more probable account is that he tied them about the mutilated body of his victim. Compare E. Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>2</sup>, i. 322-326; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Electra*, 445, with the Appendix, pp. 211 sq. The practice is perhaps illustrated by an original drawing in the Ambrosian manuscript of the *Iliad*, which represents the Homeric episode of Dolon (*Il.* x. 314 sqq.); in the drawing the corpse of the slain Dolon is depicted shorn of its feet and hands, which lie beside it, while Ulysses holds Dolon's severed head in his hand. See *Annali dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica* (Rome, 1875), tav. d'agg. R.; A. Baumeister,

his son's extremities,<sup>1</sup> he recovered his senses.<sup>2</sup> But the land remaining barren, the god declared oracularly that it would bear fruit if Lycurgus were put to death. On hearing that, the Edonians led him to

*Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 460 sq., fig. 506. It appears to be a widespread belief that the ghost of one who has died a violent death is dangerous to his slayer, but that he can be rendered powerless for mischief by maiming his body in such a way as would have disabled him in life. For example, some of the Australian aborigines used to cut off the thumbs of the right hands of dead enemies to prevent their ghosts from throwing spears. See A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, iii. (1865) p. 287. In Travancore the spirits of murderers who have been hanged are thought to be very mischievous; hence, in order to prevent them from doing harm, it used to be customary to cut off the heels of the criminal with a sword or to hamstring him as he swung on the gallows. See S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, (1871), pp. 203 sq. In Armenia, when a person falls sick soon after the death of a member of the family, it is supposed that the sickness is caused by the dead man, who cannot rest in his grave until he has drawn away one of his kinsfolk to the spirit land. To prevent this catastrophe, the body of the deceased is disinterred and decapitated, and to make assurance doubly sure the head is smashed or a needle is stuck into it and into the heart. See Manuk Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube* (Leipsic, 1899), p. 11. In some parts of West Africa it is similarly customary to disinter and decapitate a corpse of a person whose ghost is supposed to be causing sickness, "because the deceased, having his head cut off, will not have the same strength as before, and consequently will not be in a position to trouble him (the patient)." See J. B. Labat, *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), i. 208.

<sup>2</sup> So Orestes, driven mad by the Furies of his murdered mother, is said to have recovered his senses on biting off one of his own fingers (Pausanias, viii. 34. 2). By the sacrifice he may be supposed to have appeased the anger of his mother's ghost, who was thought to be causing his madness. Compare *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 240 sq.

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ἀπαγαγόντες ὄρος ἔδησαν, κἀκεῖ κατὰ Διονύσου βούλησιν ὑπὸ ἵππων διαφθαρεῖς ἀπέθανε.

- 2 Διελθὼν δὲ Θράκην [καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἅπασαν, στήλας ἐκεῖ στήσας]<sup>1</sup> ἦκεν εἰς Θήβας, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε καταλιπούσας τὰς οἰκίας βακχεύειν ἐν τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι. Πενθεὺς δὲ γεννηθεὶς ἐξ Ἀγαυῆς Ἐχίονι, παρὰ Κάδμου εἰληφῶς τὴν βασιλείαν, διεκώλυε ταῦτα γίνεσθαι, καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Κιθαιρῶνα τῶν Βακχῶν κατάσκοπος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀγαυῆς κατὰ μανίαν ἐμελίσθη· ἐνόμισε γὰρ αὐτὸν θηρίον εἶναι. δεῖξας δὲ Θηβαίοις ὅτι θεὸς ἐστίν, ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, κἀκεῖ<sup>2</sup> πάλιν οὐ τιμώντων αὐτὸν ἐξέμηνε τὰς γυναῖκας. αἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοὺς ἐπιμαστιδίους ἔχουσαι<sup>3</sup> παῖδας τὰς σάρκας αὐτῶν ἐσιτοῦντο.
- 3 βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰκαρίας εἰς Νάξον διακομισθῆναι, Τυρρηνῶν ληστρικὴν ἐμισθώσατο τριήρη. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐνθήμενοι Νάξον μὲν παρέπλεον, ἠπείγοντο δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπεμπολήσοντες. ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰστὺν<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὰς κώπας ἐποίησεν ὄφεις, τὸ δὲ σκάφος ἔπλησε κισσοῦ καὶ βοῆς αὐλῶν· οἱ δὲ ἐμμανεῖς γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης ἔφυγον

<sup>1</sup> The words enclosed in brackets are probably an interpolation, as Heyne thought. Hercher omits them.

<sup>2</sup> κἀκεῖνων Eberhard.

<sup>3</sup> ἔψουσαι A. Ludwich, perhaps rightly. But we should expect ἐψήσασαι.

<sup>4</sup> ἰστὸν Aegius: ἰσθμὸν A.

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<sup>1</sup> The king thus done to death was perhaps supposed to die in the character of the god; for Dionysus himself was said to have been rent in pieces by the Titans. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. ii. 98 sq.; *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, 24 sq.

Mount Pangaeum and bound him, and there by the will of Dionysus he died, destroyed by horses.<sup>1</sup>

Having traversed Thrace and the whole of India and set up pillars there,<sup>2</sup> he came to Thebes, and forced the women to abandon their houses and rave in Bacchic frenzy on Cithaeron. • But Pentheus, whom Agave bore to Echion, had succeeded Cadmus in the kingdom, and he attempted to put a stop to these proceedings. And coming to Cithaeron to spy on the Bacchanals, he was torn limb from limb by his mother Agave in a fit of madness; for she thought he was a wild beast.<sup>3</sup> And having shown the Thebans that he was a god, Dionysus came to Argos, and there again, because they did not honour him, he drove the women mad, and they on the mountains devoured the flesh of the infants whom they carried at their breasts.<sup>4</sup> And wishing to be ferried across from Icaria to Naxos he hired a pirate ship of Tyrrhenians. But when they had put him on board, they sailed past Naxos and made for Asia, intending to sell him. Howbeit, he turned the mast and oars into snakes, and filled the vessel with ivy and the sound of flutes. And the pirates went mad, and leaped into the sea, and were turned

<sup>2</sup> Compare J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, viii. 582 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> In these lines Apollodorus has summarized the argument of the *Bacchae* of Euripides; for the death of Pentheus, see *vv.* 1043 *sqq.* Compare Hyginus, *Fab.* 184; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 511 *sqq.*, especially 701 *sqq.*; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 103 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 83). Aeschylus wrote a tragedy on the subject of Pentheus (*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 60 *sq.*).

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to the madness of the daughters of Proetus. See above, ii. 2. 2 note.



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καὶ ἐγένοντο δελφῖνες. ὡς δὲ<sup>1</sup> μαθόντες αὐτὸν θεὸν ἄνθρωποι ἐτίμων, ὁ δὲ ἀναγαγὼν ἐξ Ἄιδου τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυώνην, μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀνήλθεν.

<sup>1</sup> ὡς δὲ Müller, Westermann : ἔδε Heyne : ὡς δὲ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner. •

<sup>1</sup> The story of Dionysus and the pirates is the theme of the Homeric Hymn No. VII. *To Dionysus*. Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 581 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 134; *id. Astronom.* ii. 17; Servius, on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 67; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 39, 133 (First Vatican Mythographer, 123; Second Vatican Mythographer, 171)

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 25. 4. Dionysus is said to have gone down to hell to fetch up his mother Semele at Lerna, where he plunged into the Alcyonian Lake, a pool which was supposed to be bottomless and therefore to afford an easy access to the nether world. See Pausanias ii. 37. 5; and for a description of the pool as it is at the present time, see my commentary on Pausanias, vol. v. pp. 604 *sq.* Never having been in hell before, Dionysus did not know how to go there, and he was reduced to the necessity of asking the way. A certain Prosymnus pointed it out to the deity on condition of receiving a certain reward. When Dionysus returned from the lower world, he found that his guide had died in the meantime; but he punctually paid the promised reward to the dead man at his grave with the help of a branch of fig wood, which he whittled into an appropriate shape. This story was told to explain the similar implements which figured prominently in the processions of Dionysus. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, pp. 29 *sq.*, ed. Potter; Nonnus, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum.* xxii. 1, p. 368; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 212; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, v. 28; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 5. Pausanias calls the god's guide Polymnus, unless that form of the name is the mistake of a copyist for Prosymnus, as seems to be suggested by the epithet Prosymna, which was applied to Demeter in the sacred grove at Lerna, where Dionysus also had an image. See Pausanias, ii. 37. 1. However, Hyginus gives Hypolipnus as the name of the guide to hell. Every year the descent of the god through the deep water was

into dolphins.<sup>1</sup> Thus men perceived that he was a god and honoured him; and having brought up his mother from Hades and named her Thyone, he ascended up with her to heaven.<sup>2</sup>

celebrated with nocturnal rites on the reedy margin of the pool (Pausanias, ii. 37. 6). The pious Pausanias shrank from divulging the nature of the rites; but from Plutarch we learn that a lamb was thrown into the lake as an offering to the warder of hell, while on trumpets hidden in the god's leafy emblems the buglers blew blasts which, startling the stillness and darkness of night, were believed to summon up the lost Dionysus from the watery depths. See Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 35. Perhaps in answer to this bugle call an actor, dressed in the vine-god's garb, may have emerged dripping from the pool to receive the congratulations of the worshippers on his rising from the dead. However, according to others, the resurrection of Dionysus and his mother took place, not in the gloomy swamp at Lerna, but on the beautiful, almost landlocked, bay of Troezen, where nowadays groves of oranges and lemons, interspersed with the dark foliage of tall cypresses, fringe the margin of the calm blue water at the foot of the rugged mountains. See Pausanias, ii. 31. 2. Plutarch has drawn a visionary picture of the scene of the ascension. It was, he says, a mighty chasm like the caves sacred to Bacchus, mantled with woods and green grass and blooming flowers of every sort, and exhaling a delicious, an intoxicating, perfume, while all about it the souls of the departed circled and stooped upon the wing like flights of birds, but did not dare to cross its tremendous depth. It was called the Place of Forgetfulness. See Plutarch, *De sera numinis vindicta*, 22, pp. 565 sq. A pretty story was told of the device by which Dionysus induced the grim warden of the dead to release the soul of his mother from the infernal gaol. It is said that Hades consented to set her free provided that her son would send of his best beloved to replace her shade in the world of shadows. Now of all the things in the world the dearest to Dionysus were the ivy, the vine, and the myrtle; so of these he sent the myrtle, and that is why the initiated in his rites wreathed their brows with myrtle leaves. See Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 330. The harrying of hell is the theme of Aristophanes's amusing comedy *The Frogs*.

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- 4 Ὁ δὲ Κάδμος μετὰ Ἀρμονίας Θήβας ἐκλιπὼν πρὸς Ἐγγελέας<sup>1</sup> παραγίνεται. τούτοις δὲ ὑπὸ Ἰλλυριῶν πολεμουμένοις ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν Ἰλλυριῶν κρατήσῃν, ἐὰν ἡγεμόνας Κάδμον καὶ Ἀρμονίαν ἔχωσιν. οἱ δὲ πεισθέντες ποιοῦνται κατὰ Ἰλλυριῶν ἡγεμόνας τούτους καὶ κρατοῦσι. καὶ βασιλεύει Κάδμος Ἰλλυριῶν, καὶ παῖς Ἰλλυριῶς αὐτῷ γίνεται. αὐθις δὲ μετὰ Ἀρμονίας εἰς δράκοντα μεταβαλὼν εἰς Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐξεπέμφθη.
- 5 Πολύδωρος δὲ Θηβῶν βασιλεὺς γενόμενος Νυκτιίδα γαμεί, Νυκτέως <τοῦ><sup>2</sup> Χθονίου θυγατέρα, καὶ γεννᾷ Λάβδακον. οὗτος ἀπώλετο, μετὰ<sup>3</sup> Πενθέα ἐκείνῳ φρονῶν παραπλήσια. καταλιπόντος δὲ Λαβδάκου παῖδα ἐνιαυσιαῖον Λάιον, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείλετο Λύκος, ἕως οὗτος ἦν παῖς, ἀδελφὸς ὢν Νυκτέως. ἀμφότεροι δὲ [ἀπὸ Εὐ-

<sup>1</sup> Ἐγγελέας R: ἀγγελέας A.      <sup>2</sup> τοῦ inserted by Aegius.

<sup>3</sup> κατὰ Siebelis.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the departure of Cadmus and Harmonia to Illyria and their transformation into snakes in that country, where their tomb was shown in later ages, see Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 516 sqq.; Dionysius Periegetes, *Orbis Descriptio*, 390 sqq., with the commentary of Eustathius on v. 391; Strabo, i. 2. 39, p. 46, vii. 7. 8, p. 326; Pausanias, ix. 5. 3; Athenaeus, xi. 5, p. 462 B; Stephanus Byzantius, s.v. Δυρράχιον; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 393 sqq.; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iv. 563-603; Hyginus, *Fab.* 6; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 290; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 48 (First Vatican Mythographer, 150). Euripides mentions the transformation of the couple into snakes, but without speaking of their banishment to Illyria (*Bacchae*, 1530 sq.), probably because there is a long

But Cadmus and Harmonia quitted Thebes and went to the Encheleans. As the Encheleans were being attacked by the Illyrians, the god declared by an oracle that they would get the better of the Illyrians if they had Cadmus and Harmonia as their leaders. They believed him, and made them their leaders against the Illyrians, and got the better of them. And Cadmus reigned over the Illyrians, and a son Illyrius was born to him. But afterwards he was, along with Harmonia, turned into a serpent and sent away by Zeus to the Elysian Fields.<sup>1</sup>

Polydorus, having become king of Thebes, married Nycteis, daughter of Nycteus, son of Chthonius, and begat Labdacus, who perished after Pentheus because he was like-minded with him.<sup>2</sup> But Labdacus having left a one-year-old son, Laius, the government was usurped by Lycus, brother of Nycteus, so long as Laius was a child. Both of them<sup>3</sup> had fled from

lacuna in this part of the text. According to Hyginus, the transformation of the two into serpents was a punishment inflicted by Ares on Cadmus for killing his sacred dragon which guarded the spring at Thebes, which Hyginus absurdly calls the Castalian spring. It is a common belief, especially among the Bantu tribes of South Africa, that human beings at death are turned into serpents, which often visit the old home. There is some reason to think that the ancestors of the Greeks may have shared this widespread superstition, of which the traditional transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia would thus be an isolated survival. See *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 82 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 8; Pausanias ii. 6. 2, ix. 5. 4 *sq.* Apollodorus implies that Labdacus was murdered by the Bacchanals because he set himself against the celebration of their orgiastic rites. But there seems to be no express mention of his violent death in ancient writers.

<sup>3</sup> That is, the two brothers Lycus and Nycteus.

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βοίας]<sup>1</sup> φυγόντες, ἐπεὶ Φλεγύαν ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Ἄρεος καὶ Δωτίδος τῆς Βοιωτίδος, Ἐρίαν<sup>2</sup> κατῶ-  
 κουν, καὶ . . .<sup>3</sup> διὰ τὴν πρὸς Πενθέα οἰκειότητα  
 ἐγεγόνεσαν πολῖται. αἶρεθεις οὖν Λύκος πολέ-  
 μαρχος ὑπὸ Θηβαίων ἐπέθετο<sup>4</sup> τῇ δυναστείᾳ, καὶ  
 βασιλεύσας ἔτη εἴκοσι,<sup>5</sup> φονευθεὶς ὑπὸ Ζήθου καὶ  
 Ἀμφίονος θνήσκει δι' αἰτίαν τήνδε. Ἀντιόπη  
 θυγάτηρ ἦν Νυκτέως· ταύτη Ζεὺς συνῆλθεν. ἡ  
 δὲ ὡς ἐγκυος ἐγένετο, τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπειλούντος εἰς  
 Σικυῶνα ἀποδιδράσκει πρὸς Ἐπωπέα καὶ τούτῳ  
 γαμεῖται. Νυκτεὺς δὲ ἀθυμήσας ἑαυτὸν φονεύει,  
 δούς ἐντολὰς<sup>6</sup> Λύκῳ παρὰ Ἐπωπέως καὶ παρὰ  
 Ἀντιόπης λαβεῖν δίκας. ὁ δὲ στρατευσάμενος  
 Σικυῶνα χειροῦται, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἐπωπέα κτείνει,  
 τὴν δὲ Ἀντιόπην ἤγαγεν αἰχμαλωτον. ἡ δὲ ἀγο-

<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ Εὐβοίας A. These words are deleted by Hercher and Wagner. Heyne also preferred to omit them. See exegetical note. <sup>2</sup> Ἐρίαν Heyne: Συρίαν A.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be a lacuna here, which Heyne proposed to supply by the words ἐκείθεν ἐλθόντες εἰς Θήβας. I translate accordingly.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπέθετο E: ἐπετίθετο A. <sup>5</sup> εἴκοσι A: δεκαοκτώ E.

<sup>6</sup> ἐντολὰς ERS: ἐντολήν A.

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<sup>1</sup> This Phlegyas is supposed to be Phlegyas, king of Orchomenus, whom Pausanias (ix. 36. 1) calls a son of Ares and Chryse. If this identification is right, the words "from Euboea" appear to be wrong, as Heyne pointed out, since Orchomenus is not in Euboea but in Boeotia. But there were many places called Euboea, and it is possible that one of them was in Boeotia. If that was so, we may conjecture that the epithet "Boeotian," which, applied to Dotis, seems superfluous, was applied by Apollodorus to Euboea and has been replaced by a copyist. If these conjectures are correct, the text will read thus: "Both of them fled from Boeotia because they had killed Phlegyas, son of

Euboea because they had killed Phlegyas, son of Ares and Dotis the Boeotian,<sup>1</sup> and they took up their abode at Hyria, and thence having come to Thebes, they were enrolled as citizens through their friendship with Pentheus. So after being chosen commander-in-chief by the Thebans, Lycus compassed the supreme power and reigned for twenty years, but was murdered by Zethus and Amphion for the following reason. Antiope was a daughter of Nycteus, and Zeus had intercourse with her.<sup>2</sup> When she was with child, and her father threatened her, she ran away to Epopeus at Sicyon and was married to him. In a fit of despondency Nycteus killed himself, after charging Lycus to punish Epopeus and Antiope. Lycus marched against Sicyon, subdued it, slew Epopeus, and led Antiope away captive. On the way she gave birth to two

Ares and Dotis, and they took up their abode at Hyria." As to the various places called Euboea, see Stephanus Byzantius, *s.v.* Εββοια; W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, *s.v.* Εββοια.

<sup>2</sup> With the following story of Antiope and Dirce compare Pausanias, ii. 6. 1 *sqq.*, ix. 25. 3; J. Malalas, *Chronographia*, ii. pp. 45-49, ed. L. Dindorf; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* iv. 1090; Nicolaus Damascenus, frag. 11, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 365 *sq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 7 and 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 32, 99 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 97; Second Vatican Mythographer, 74). Euripides wrote a tragedy *Antiope*, of which Hyginus (*Fab.* 8) gives a summary. Many fragments of the play have been preserved. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck,<sup>3</sup> pp. 410 *sqq.* In his version of the story Apollodorus seems to have followed Euripides. The legend is commemorated in the famous group of statuary called the Farnese bull, which is now in the museum at Naples. See A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 107, fig. 113.

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μένη δύο γεννᾶ παῖδας ἐν Ἐλευθεραῖς τῆς Βοιωτίας, οὓς ἐκκειμένους εὐρῶν βουκόλος ἀνατρέφει, καὶ τὸν μὲν καλεῖ Ζῆθον τὸν δὲ Ἀμφίονα. Ζῆθος μὲν οὖν ἐπεμελεῖτο βουφορβίων,<sup>1</sup> Ἀμφίων δὲ κιθαρωδίαν ἤσκει, δόντος αὐτῷ λύραν Ἑρμοῦ. Ἀντιόπην δὲ ἠκίζετο Λύκος καθείρξας καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Δίρκην λαθοῦσα δέ ποτε, τῶν δεσμῶν αὐτομάτως<sup>2</sup> λυθέντων, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τῆν τῶν παίδων ἔπαυλιν, δεχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτῶν θέλουσα. οἱ δὲ ἀναγνωρισάμενοι τὴν μητέρα, τὸν μὲν Λύκον κτείνουσι, τὴν δὲ Δίρκην δήσαντες ἐκ ταύρου ρίπτουσι θανοῦσαν εἰς κρήνην τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνης καλουμένην Δίρκην. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὴν δυναστείαν τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν, ἐπακολουθησάντων τῇ Ἀμφίονος λύρα τῶν λίθων, Λάϊον δὲ ἐξέβαλον. ὁ δὲ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ διατελῶν ἐπιξενούται Πέλοπι, καὶ τούτου παῖδα Χρῦσιππον ἄρματοδρομεῖν διδάσκων ἐρασθεῖς ἀναρπάζει.

<sup>1</sup> Βουφορβίων ES: Βουφοραίων A.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτομάτως Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: αὐτομάτων ESA, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 7 sq. The two brothers are said to have quarrelled, the robust Zethus blaming Amphion for his passionate addiction to music and urging him to abandon it for what he deemed the more manly pursuits of agriculture, cattle-breeding and war. The gentle Amphion yielded to these exhortations so far as to cease to strum the lyre. See Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxxiii. vol. ii. p. 254, ed. L. Dindorf; Horace, *Epist.* i. 18. 41-44; *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 414-416, frag. 184-188. The discussion between the two brothers, the one advocating the practical life and the other the contemplative or artistic, seems to have been famous. It is illustrated by a fine relief in which we see Amphion standing and holding out his lyre eagerly for the admiration of his athletic brother, who sits

sons at Eleurethae in Boeotia. The infants were exposed, but a neatherd found and reared them, and he called the one Zethus and the other Amphion. Now Zethus paid attention to cattle-breeding, but Amphion practised minstrelsy, for Hermes had given him a lyre.<sup>1</sup> But Lycus and his wife Dirce imprisoned Antiope and treated her despitefully. Howbeit, one day her bonds were loosed of themselves, and unknown to her keepers she came to her sons' cottage, begging that they would take her in. They recognized their mother, and slew Lycus, but Dirce they tied to a bull, and flung her dead body into the spring that is called Dirce after her. And having succeeded to the sovereignty they fortified the city, the stones following Amphion's lyre<sup>2</sup>; and they expelled Laius.<sup>3</sup> He resided in Peloponnese, being hospitably received by Pelops; and while he taught Chrysippus, the son of Pelops, to drive a chariot, he conceived a passion for the lad and carried him off.<sup>4</sup>

regarding it with an air of smiling disdain. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 260-265 (who does not mention the miracle of the music); Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 735-741; Pausanias, ix. 5. 6-8; Propertius, i. 9. 10, iv. 2. 3 *sq.*; Horace, *Odes*, iii. 11. 2, *Ars Poetica*, 394-396. Apollonius represents Zethus staggering under the load of a mountain, while Amphion strolls along drawing a cliff twice as large after him by singing to his golden lyre. He seems to have intended to suggest the feebleness of brute strength by comparison with the power of genius.

<sup>3</sup> As to the banishment and restoration of Laius, see Pausanias, ix. 5. 6 and 9; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Athenaeus, xiii. 79, pp. 602 *sq.*, who says that Laius carried off Chrysippus in his chariot to Thebes. Chrysippus is said to have killed himself for shame. See the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1760.



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- 6 Γαμεί δὲ Ζῆθος μὲν Θήβην, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις Θῆβαι, Ἀμφίων δὲ Νιόβην τὴν Ταυτάλου, ἡ γεννᾶ παῖδας μὲν ἑπτά, Σίπυλον Εὐπίνυτον Ἴσμηνὸν Δαμασίχθονα Ἀγήνορα Φαίδιμον Τάνταλον, θυγατέρας δὲ τὰς ἴσας, Ἐθοδαίαν (ἡ ὡς τινες Νέαιραν) Κλεόδοξαν Ἀστυόχην Φθίαν Πελοπίαν Ἀστυκράτειαν Ὠγυγίαν. Ἡσίοδος δὲ

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<sup>1</sup> For the story of Niobe and her children, see Homer, *Iliad*, xxiv. 602 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 74; Pausanias, i. 21. 3, ii. 21. 9, v. 11. 2, v. 16. 4, viii. 2. 5 and 7; J. Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, iv. 416 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* vi. 146 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 9 and 11; Lactantius Placidus on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 191; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 50 (First Vatican Mythographer, 156). Great diversity of opinion prevailed among the ancients with regard to the number of Niobe's children. Diodorus, Ovid, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the First Vatican Mythographer agree with Apollodorus as to the seven sons and seven daughters of Niobe, and from the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 159, we learn that Aeschylus, Euripides, and Aristophanes in lost plays adopted the same numbers, but that Pherecydes agreed with Homer in reckoning six sons and six daughters, while Hellanicus allowed the lady no more than four sons and three daughters. On the other hand, Xanthus the Lydian, according to the same Scholiast, credited her with a score of children, equally divided between the two sexes. Herein he probably followed the authority of Hesiod (see Apollodorus, below), and the same liberal computation is said to have been accepted by Bacchylides, Pindar, and Mimnermus, while Sappho reduced the figure to twice nine, and Alcman to ten all told (Aulus Gellius, xx. 70; Aelian, *Varia Historia*, xii. 36). Aeschylus and Sophocles each wrote a tragedy *Niobe*, of which some fragments remain. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>3</sup>, pp. 50 *sqq.*, 228 *sq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, ii. 94 *sqq.*, frag. 442-451. The subject is rendered famous by the fine group of ancient statuary now in the Uffizi gallery at Florence. See

Zethus married Thebe, after whom the city of Thebes is named; and Amphion married Niobe, daughter of Tantalus,<sup>1</sup> who bore seven sons, Sipylus, Eupinytus, Ismenus, Damasichthon, Agenor, Phaedimus, Tantalus, and the same number of daughters, Ethodaia (or, as some say, Neaera), Cleodoxa, Astyoche, Phthia, Pelopia, Astycratia, and Ogygia. But Hesiod says that they had ten sons and ten

A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, iii. 1674 *sqq.* Antiquity hesitated whether to assign the group to Scopas or Praxiteles (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 28), and modern opinion is still divided on the question. See my note on Pausanias, ii. 29. 9 (vol. iii. p. 201). The pathetic character of the group may perhaps be held to speak in favour of Scopas, who seems to have excelled in the portrayal of the sterner, sadder emotions, while Praxiteles dwelt by preference on the brighter, softer creations of the Greek religious imagination. This view of the sombre cast of the genius of Scopas is suggested by the subjects which he chose for the decoration of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea (Pausanias, viii. 45. 5-7), and by the scanty remains of the sculptures which have been found on the spot. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. pp. 426 *sqq.* However, the late historian of Greek sculpture, Professor M. Collignon, denied that the original of this famous group, which he regarded as a copy, was either by Scopas or Praxiteles. He held that it belongs to an Asiatic school of sculpture characterized by picturesque grouping, and that it could not have been executed before the third century B.C. To the same school he would assign another famous group of sculpture, that of Dirce and the bull (above, iii. 5. 5 note). See M. Collignon, *Histoire de la Sculpture Grecque* (Paris, 1892-1897), ii. 532 *sqq.* The tomb of the children of Niobe was shown at Thebes (Pausanias, ix. 16. 7; compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 159 *sq.*); but according to Statius (*Theb.* vi. 124 *sq.*) the *Mater Dolorosa* carried the ashes of her dead children in twice six urns to be buried on her native Mount Sipylus. Thus the poet dutifully follows Homer in regard to the number of the children.

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δέκα μὲν υἱοὺς δέκα δὲ θυγατέρας, Ἡρόδωρος<sup>1</sup> δὲ δύο μὲν ἄρρενας τρεῖς δὲ θηλείας, Ὀμηρος δὲ ἕξ μὲν υἱοὺς ἕξ δὲ θυγατέρας φησὶ γενέσθαι. εὐτεκνος δὲ οὖσα Νιόβη τῆς Λητοῦς εὐτεκνοτέρα εἶπεν ὑπάρχειν. Λητὴ δὲ ἀγανακτήσασα τὴν τε Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα κατ' αὐτῶν παρώξυνε, καὶ τὰς μὲν θηλείας ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας κατετόξευσε Ἄρτεμις, τοὺς δὲ ἄρρενας κοινῇ πάντας ἐν Κιθαίρῳ Ἀπόλλων κυνηγετοῦντας ἀπέκτεινε. ἐσώθη δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀρρένων Ἀμφίων, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν Χλωρίς ἢ πρεσβυτέρα, ἣ Νηλεὺς συνώκησε. κατὰ δὲ Τελέσιλλαν ἐσώθησαν Ἀμύκλας<sup>2</sup> καὶ Μελίβοια, ἐτοξεύθη δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ Ἀμφίων. αὐτὴ δὲ Νιόβη Θήβας ἀπολιπούσα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Τάνταλον ἦκεν εἰς Σίπυλον, κακεῖ Διὶ εὐξαμένη τὴν μορφήν εἰς λίθον μετέβαλε, καὶ χεῖται δάκρυα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ λίθου.

7 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίονος τελευτὴν Λάιος τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. καὶ γήμας θυγατέρα Μενοικέως, ἣν ἔνιοι μὲν Ἰοκάστην ἔνιοι δὲ Ἐπικάστην λέγουσι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ γεννᾶν (τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ἡρόδωρος Aegius : ἠρόδοτος A.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀμύκλας A, Westermann, Müller, Wagner : Ἀμύκλα Heyne, Bekker, Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, ii, 21. 9, v. 16. 4, according to whom Meliboea was the original name of Chloris; but she turned pale with fear at the slaughter of her brothers and sisters, and so received the name of Chloris, that is, the Pale Woman. As to the marriage of Chloris with Neleus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 281 *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> The ancients differed as to the death of Amphion. According to one account, he went mad (Lucian, *De saltatione*, 41), and in attempting to attack a temple of Apollo,

daughters; Herodorus that they had two male children and three female; and Homer that they had six sons and six daughters. Being blessed with children, Niobe said that she was more blessed with children than Latona. Stung by the taunt, Latona incited Artemis and Apollo against them, and Artemis shot down the females in the house, and Apollo killed all the males together as they were hunting on Cithaeron. Of the males Amphion alone was saved, and of the females Chloris the elder, whom Neleus married. But according to Telesilla there were saved Amyclas and Meliboea,<sup>1</sup> and Amphion also was shot by them.<sup>2</sup> But Niobe herself quitted Thebes and went to her father Tantalus at Sipylus, and there, on praying to Zeus, she was transformed into a stone, and tears flow night and day from the stone.

After Amphion's death Laius succeeded to the kingdom. And he married a daughter of Menoeceus; some say that she was Jocasta, and some that she was Epicasta.<sup>3</sup> The oracle had warned him not

doubtless in order to avenge the death of his sons on the divine murderer, he was shot dead by the deity (Hyginus, *Fab.* 9). According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* vi. 271 *sq.*), he stabbed himself for grief.

<sup>3</sup> For the tragic story of Laius, Jocasta or Epicasta, and their son Oedipus, see Homer, *Od.* xi. 271-280, with the Scholiast on v. 271; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1-62; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64; Pausanias, ix. 2. 4, ix. 5. 10 *sq.*, x. 5. 3 *sq.*; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1760; Hyginus, *Fab.* 66 and 67. In Homer the mother of Oedipus is named Epicasta; later writers call her Jocasta. The mournful tale of Oedipus is the subject of Sophocles's two great tragedies, the *Oedipus Tyrannus* and the *Oedipus Coloneus*. It is also the theme of Seneca's tragedy *Oedipus*. From the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told by Androction. Apollodorus's version of the legend closely follows

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γεννηθέντα γὰρ πατροκτόνον ἔσεσθαι) ὁ δὲ οἰνωθεὶς συνῆλθε τῇ γυναικί. καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν ἐκθεῖναι δίδωσι νομεί, περόναις διατρήσας τὰ σφυρά. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ἐξέθηκεν εἰς Κιθαιρῶνα, Πολύβου δὲ βουκόλοι, τοῦ Κορινθίων βασιλέως, τὸ βρέφος εὐρόντες πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Περίβοιαν ἤνεγκαν. ἡ δὲ ἀνελοῦσα ὑποβάλλεται, καὶ θεραπεύσασα τὰ σφυρὰ Οἰδίπου καλεῖ, τοῦτο θεμένη τὸ ὄνομα διὰ τὸ τοὺς πόδας ἀνοιδῆσαι. τελειωθείς δὲ ὁ παῖς, καὶ διαφέρων τῶν ἡλικῶν ῥώμη,<sup>1</sup> διὰ φθόνον<sup>2</sup> ἄνειδίξετο ὑπόβλητος. ὁ δὲ πυνθανόμενος παρὰ<sup>3</sup> τῆς Περιβοίας μαθεῖν οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπυνθάνετο γονέων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα μὴ πορεύεσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πατέρα φονεύσειν, τῇ μητρὶ δὲ μιγήσεσθαι. τοῦτο ἀκούσας, καὶ νομίζων ἐξ ὧν ἐλέγετο γεγενῆσθαι,<sup>4</sup> Κόρινθον μὲν ἀπέλιπεν, ἐφ' ἄρματος δὲ διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος φερόμενος συντυγχάνει κατὰ τινα στενὴν ὁδὸν ἐφ' ἄρματος ὀχουμένῳ Λαίῳ. καὶ Πολυφόντου<sup>5</sup> (κῆρυξ

<sup>1</sup> ῥώμη E: ἐν ῥώμη A.      <sup>2</sup> φθόνον E: φόνον A.

<sup>3</sup> παρὰ E: περὶ A.

<sup>4</sup> γεγενῆσθαι E, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 68: γεγενῆσθαι A.

<sup>5</sup> Πολυφόντου . . . κελεύοντος E: Πολυφόντη . . . καὶ κελεύσαντος A.

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Sophocles and is reproduced by Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 68) in a somewhat abridged form with certain verbal changes, but as usual without acknowledgment. Some parallel stories occur in the folk-lore of other peoples. See Appendix, "The Oedipus Legend."

<sup>1</sup> Sophocles calls her Merope (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, 775), and so does Seneca (*Oedipus*, 272, 661, 802). But, according to Pherecydes, the wife of Polybus was Medusa, daughter of Orsilochus (Scholiast on Sophocles, *l.c.*).

to beget a son, for the son that should be begotten would kill his father; nevertheless, flushed with wine, he had intercourse with his wife. And when the babe was born he pierced the child's ankles with brooches and gave it to a herdsman to expose. But the herdsman exposed it on Cithaeron; and the neatherds of Polybus, king of Corinth, found the infant and brought it to his wife Periboea.<sup>1</sup> She adopted him and passed him off as her own, and after she had healed his ankles she called him Oedipus, giving him that name on account of his swollen feet.<sup>2</sup> When the boy grew up and excelled his fellows in strength, they spitefully twitted him with being supposititious. He inquired of Periboea, but could learn nothing; so he went to Delphi and inquired about his true parents. The god told him not to go to his native land, because he would murder his father and lie with his mother. On hearing that, and believing himself to be the son of his nominal parents, he left Corinth, and riding in a chariot through Phocis he fell in with Laius driving in a chariot in a certain narrow road.<sup>3</sup> And when Polyphontes,

<sup>2</sup> The name Oedipus was interpreted to mean "swollen foot." As to the piercing of the child's ankles, see Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 718; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 26 sq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 1; Pausanias, x. 5.3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 66; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 812 sq.

<sup>3</sup> The "narrow road" is the famous Cleft Way (Pausanias, x. 5. 3 sq.) now called the Cross-road of Megas (*Stavrodromi tou Mega*), where the road from Daulis and the road from Thebes and Lebadea meet and unite in the single road ascending through the long valley to Delphi. At this point the pass, shut in on either hand by lofty and precipitous mountains, presents one of the wildest and grandest scenes in all Greece; the towering cliffs of Parnassus on the

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δὲ οὗτος ἦν Λαίου) κελεύοντος ἐκχωρεῖν καὶ δι' ἀπειθείαν καὶ ἀναβολὴν κτείναντος τῶν ἵππων τὸν ἕτερον, ἀγανακτήσας Οἰδίπους καὶ Πολυφόντην καὶ Λάϊον ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ παρεγένετο εἰς 8 Θήβας. Λάϊον μὲν οὖν θάπτει βασιλεὺς Πλαταιέων<sup>1</sup> Δαμασίστρατος, τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν Κρέων ὁ Μενοικέως παραλαμβάνει. τούτου δὲ βασιλεύοντος οὐ μικρὰ συμφορὰ κατέσχε Θήβας. ἔπεμψε γὰρ Ἡρα Σφίγγα, ἣ μητρὸς μὲν Ἐχίδνης ἦν πατρὸς δὲ Τυφῶνος, εἶχε δὲ πρόσωπον μὲν γυναικός, στήθος δὲ καὶ βάσιν καὶ οὐρὰν λέοντος καὶ πτέρυγας ὄρνιθος. μαθοῦσα δὲ αἶνιγμα παρὰ μουσῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Φίκιον ὄρος ἐκαθέζετο, καὶ τοῦτο προύτεινε Θηβαίοις. ἦν δὲ τὸ αἶνιγμα· τί ἐστὶν ὃ μίαν ἔχον φωνὴν<sup>2</sup> τετράπουν καὶ δίπουν καὶ τρίπουν

<sup>1</sup> πλαταιέων E: πλατυμέων A. Wagner reports πλατυμέων to be the reading of E. But this is apparently a misprint for A. See Heyne *ad. l.*: "Πλατυμέων vitiose omnes codd."

<sup>2</sup> φωνὴν A: μορφήν E. The reading φωνή is supported by the Argument to Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (p. 6 ed. Jebb), the Argument to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, and the Scholium on verse 50 (*Scholia in Euripidem*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. i. pp. 243 sq. 256), Athenaeus, x. 83, p. 456 B, and the *Palatine Anthology*, xiv. 64, in all of which passages the oracle is quoted with φωνή instead of μορφή. On the other hand the reading μορφή is supported by some MSS. of Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 7, though the editor, Müller, prints φωνή in the text.

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northern side of the valley are truly sublime. Not a trace of human habitation is to be seen. All is solitude and silence, in keeping with the tragic memories of the spot. Compare my commentary on Pausanias, x. 5. 3 (vol. v. pp. 231 sq.). As to the Cleft Way or Triple Way, as it was also called, and the fatal encounter of the father and son at it, see Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 715 sqq., 1398 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 37 sqq.; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 276 sqq.

Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 4.

the herald of Laius, ordered him to make way and killed one of his horses because he disobeyed and delayed, Oedipus in a rage killed both Polyphontes and Laius, and arrived in Thebes. Laius was buried by Damasistratus, king of Plataea,<sup>1</sup> and Creon, son of Menoeceus, succeeded to the kingdom. In his reign a heavy calamity befell Thebes. For Hera sent the Sphinx,<sup>2</sup> whose mother was Echidna and her father Typhon; and she had the face of a woman, the breast and feet and tail of a lion, and the wings of a bird. And having learned a riddle from the Muses, she sat on Mount Phicium, and propounded it to the Thebans. And the riddle was this:—What is that which has one voice and yet becomes four-footed

<sup>2</sup> As to the Sphinx and her riddle, see Hesiod, *Theog.* 326 sq. (who says that she was the offspring of Echidna and Orthus); Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 391 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 45 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 3 sq.; Pausanias, ix. 26. 2-4; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 45; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67; Seneca, *Oedipus*, 92 sqq. The riddle is quoted in verse by several ancient writers. See Athenaeus, x. 81, p. 456 B; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 7; *Anthologia Palatina*, xiv. 64; Argument to Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, p. 6, ed. R. C. Jebb; Argument to Euripides, *Phoenissae*, and Scholiast on *id.* v. 50 (*Scholia in Euripiden*, ed. E. Schwartz, vol. i. pp. 243 sq. 256). Outside of Greece the riddle seems to be current in more or less similar forms among various peoples. Thus it is reported among the Mongols of the Selenga (R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, i. 325), and in Gascony (J. F. Bladé, *Contes populaires de la Gascogne*, i. 3-14). Further, it has been recently recorded, in a form precisely similar to the Greek, among the tribes of British Central Africa: the missionary who reports it makes no reference to the riddle of the Sphinx, of which he was apparently ignorant. See Donald Fraser, *Winning a primitive people* (London, 1914), p. 171, "What is it that goes on four legs in the morning, on two at midday, and on three in the evening? Answer: A man, who crawls on hands and knees in childhood, walks erect when grown, and with the aid of a stick in his old age."



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γίνεται; χρησμοῦ δὲ Θηβαίοις ὑπάρχοντος τῆν-  
καῦτα ἀπαλλαγῆσεσθαι τῆς Σφιγγὸς ἥνικα ἂν τὸ  
αἰνιγμα λύσῳσι, συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτ<sup>1</sup> πολλάκις  
ἐζήτουν<sup>2</sup> τί τὸ λεγόμενον ἐστίν, ἐπεὶ<sup>3</sup> δὲ μὴ  
εὔρισκον, ἀρπάσασα ἓνα κατεβίβρωσκε. πολλῶν<sup>4</sup>  
δὲ ἀπολομένων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον Αἴμονος τοῦ  
Κρέοντος, κηρύσσει Κρέων τῷ τὸ αἰνιγμα λύσοντι<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν Λαῖου δώσειν γυναῖκα.  
Οἰδίπους δὲ ἀκούσας ἔλυσεν, εἰπὼν τὸ αἰνιγμα τὸ  
ὑπὸ τῆς Σφιγγὸς λεγόμενον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι γίνε-  
σθαι<sup>6</sup> γὰρ τετράπουν βρέφος ὄντα<sup>7</sup> τοῖς τέτταρσιν  
ὀχοῦμενον κώλοις, τελειούμενον<sup>8</sup> δὲ δίπουν,<sup>9</sup> γηρῶν-  
τα δὲ τρίτην προσλαμβάνειν βάσιν τὸ βάκτρον. ἡ  
μὲν οὖν Σφίγξ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἑαυτὴν ἔρρι-  
ψεν, Οἰδίπους δὲ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε  
καὶ τὴν μητέρα ἔγημεν ἀγνοῶν, καὶ παῖδας ἐτέκ-  
νωσεν ἐξ αὐτῆς Πολυνεΐκη<sup>10</sup> καὶ Ἐτεοκλέα, θυγα-  
τέρας δὲ Ἰσμήνην καὶ Ἀντιγόνην. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ  
γεννηθῆναι τὰ τέκνα φασὶν ἐξ Εὐρυγανείας αὐτῷ  
9 τῆς Ἐπέρφαντος.<sup>11</sup> φανέντων δὲ ὕστερον τῶν λαν-  
θανόντων, Ἰοκάστη μὲν ἐξ ἀγχόνης ἑαυτὴν ἀνήρ-

<sup>1</sup> συνιόντες εἰς ταῦτ<sup>ο</sup> E: καὶ συνιόντες εἰς αὐτὸ A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐζήτουν E: ἐζήτηι A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεὶ Heyne, Müller, Wagner: ἐπὶν EA, Westermann, Bekker. <sup>4</sup> πολλῶν E: πολλάκις A.

<sup>5</sup> λύσοντι EA, Zenobius, *Cent.* ii. 68: λύσαντι Hercher.

<sup>6</sup> γίνεσθαι E: γενᾶσθαι A: γενᾶσθαι <μὲν> Bekker.

<sup>7</sup> ὄντα E, Wagner: wanting in A.

<sup>8</sup> τελειούμενον δὲ τὸν ἄνθρωπον A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker: τὸν ἄνθρωπον omitted in E and by Hercher and Wagner. <sup>9</sup> δίπουν <εἶναι> Bekker.

<sup>10</sup> πολυνεΐκη A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher: πολυνεΐκην E, Zenobius (*Cent.* ii. 68), Wagner. Both forms are attested by ancient writers. See W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Πολυνεΐκης.

<sup>11</sup> Ἐπέρφαντος Aegius: τεύθραντος A.

and two-footed and three-footed? Now the Thebans were in possession of an oracle which declared that they should be rid of the Sphinx whenever they had read her riddle; so they often met and discussed the answer, and when they could not find it the Sphinx used to snatch away one of them and gobble him up. When many had perished, and last of all Creon's son Haemon, Creon made proclamation that to him who should read the riddle he would give both the kingdom and the wife of Laius. On hearing that, Oedipus found the solution, declaring that the riddle of the Sphinx referred to man; for as a babe he is four-footed, going on four limbs, as an adult he is two-footed, and as an old man he gets besides a third support in a staff. So the Sphinx threw herself from the citadel, and Oedipus both succeeded to the kingdom and unwittingly married his mother, and begat sons by her, Polynices and Eteocles, and daughters, Ismene and Antigone.<sup>1</sup> But some say the children were borne to him by Eurygania, daughter of Hyperphas.<sup>2</sup> When the secret afterwards came to light, Jocasta hanged herself in a noose,<sup>3</sup> and Oedipus

<sup>1</sup> Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 55 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 64. 4; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67.

<sup>2</sup> This account is adopted by Pausanias (ix. 5. 10 *sq.*) and by the Scholiast on Euripides (*Phoenissae*, 1760), who cites Pisander as his authority. According to another version, Oedipus, after losing Jocasta, married Astymedusa, who falsely accused her stepsons of attempting her virtue. See Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* iv. 376; Eustathius on Homer, *l.c.*, p. 369; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 53.

<sup>3</sup> Compare Homer, *Od.* xi. 277 *sqq.*; Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1235 *sqq.* According to Seneca, in one passage (*Oedipus*, 1034 *sqq.*), Jocasta stabbed herself to death on the discovery of her incest. But Euripides makes Jocasta survive her two sons and stab herself to death on their dead bodies. See Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1455-1459. Herein he was perhaps followed by Seneca in his tragedy

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τησεν, Οἰδίπους δὲ τὰς ὄψεις τυφλώσας ἐκ Θηβῶν ἠλαύνετο, ἀρὰς τοῖς παισὶ θέμενος, οἳ τῆς πόλεως αὐτὸν ἐκβαλλόμενον θεωροῦντες οὐκ ἐπήμυναν. παραγενόμενος δὲ σὺν Ἀντιγόῃ τῆς Ἀττικῆς εἰς Κολωνόν, ἔνθα τὸ τῶν Εὐμενίδων ἐστὶ τέμενος, καθίζει ἰκέτης, προσδεχθεὶς ὑπὸ Θησέως, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπέθανεν.

VI. Ἐτεοκλῆς δὲ καὶ Πολυνείκης περὶ τῆς βασιλείας συντίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ τὸν ἕτερον παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρχειν. τινὲς μὲν οὖν λέγουσι πρῶτον ἄρχαντα Πολυνείκη<sup>1</sup> παραδοῦναι μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν Ἐτεοκλεῖ, τινὲς δὲ πρῶτον Ἐτεοκλέα ἄρχαντα<sup>2</sup> μὴ βούλεσθαι παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν. φυγαδευθεὶς οὖν Πολυνείκης ἐκ Θηβῶν ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος, τὸν τε

<sup>1</sup> ἄρχαντα Πολυνείκη Hercher, Wagner: ἄρχαντος Πολυνείκου A.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐτεοκλέα ἄρχαντα Faber, Hercher, Wagner: ἔτεοκλείου ἀρχαντος A.

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*Phoenissae*, for in the fragments of that play (vv. 443 sqq.) Seneca represents Jocasta attempting to make peace between Eteocles and Polynices on the battlefield; but the conclusion of the play is lost. Similarly Statius describes how Jocasta vainly essayed to reconcile her warring sons, and how she stabbed herself to death on learning that they had fallen by each other's hands. See Statius, *Theb.* vii. 474 sqq., xi. 634 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> A curious and probably very ancient legend assigned a different motive for the curses of Oedipus. It is said that his sons used to send him as his portion the shoulder of every sacrificial victim, but that one day by mistake they sent him the haunch (*ισχίον*) instead of the shoulder, which so enraged him that he cursed them, praying to the gods that his sons might die by each other's hands. This story was told by the author of the epic *Thebaid*. See Scholiast on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1375; Zenobius, *Cent.* v.

was driven from Thebes, after he had put out his eyes and cursed his sons, who saw him cast out of the city without lifting a hand to help him.<sup>1</sup> And having come with Antigone to Colonus in Attica, where is the precinct of the Eumenides, he sat down there as a suppliant, was kindly received by Theseus, and died not long afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

VI. Now Eteocles and Polynices made a compact with each other concerning the kingdom and resolved that each should rule alternately for a year at a time.<sup>3</sup> Some say that Polynices was the first to rule, and that after a year he handed over the kingdom to Eteocles; but some say that Eteocles was the first to rule, and would not hand over the kingdom. So, being banished from Thebes, Polynices came to Argos, taking with him the

43. A different cause of his anger is assigned by Athenaeus (xi. 14, pp. 465 *sq.*), also on the authority of the author of the *Thebaid*.

<sup>1</sup> The coming of Oedipus and Antigone to Colonus Hippius in Attica, together with the mysterious death of Oedipus, are the subject of Sophocles's noble tragedy, *Oedipus Coloneus*. As to the sanctuary of the Eumenides, see that play, *vo.* 36 *sqq.* The knoll of Colonus is situated over a mile from Athens, and it is doubtful whether the poet intended to place the death and burial of Oedipus at Colonus or at Athens itself, where in later times the grave of Oedipus was shown in a precinct of the Eumenides, between the Acropolis and the Areopagus (Pausanias, i. 28. 7). See my notes on Pausanias, i. 28. 7, i. 30. 2, vol. ii. pp. 366 *sq.*, 393 *sq.*; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, pp. xxx. *sqq.*

<sup>2</sup> That is, they were to reign in alternate years. Compare Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 69 *sqq.*, 473 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 1; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 48 *sq.* (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). In this and the sequel Zenobius (*l.c.*) closely follows Apollodorus and probably copied from him.

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ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔχων. ἐβασίλευε δὲ Ἄργους Ἄδραστος ὁ Θαλαοῦ· καὶ τοῖς τούτου βασιλείῳς νύκτωρ προσπελάζει, καὶ συνάπτει μάχην Τυδεῖ τῷ Οἰνέως φεύγοντι Καλυδῶνα. γενομένης δὲ ἐξαίφνης βοῆς ἐπιφανεῖς Ἄδραστος διέλυσε αὐτούς, καὶ μάντεώς τινος ὑπομησθεις λέγοντος αὐτῷ κάπρω καὶ λέοντι συζεύξαι τὰς θυγατέρας, ἀμφοτέρους εἴλετο νυμφίους· εἶχον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων ὁ μὲν κάπρου προτομήν ὁ δὲ λέοντος. γαμῆ δὲ Δηιπύλην μὲν Τυδεὺς Ἀργεῖην δὲ Πολυνείκης, καὶ αὐτούς Ἄδραστος ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ὑπέσχετο κατάξειν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐπὶ Θήβας ἔσπευδε στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἀριστέας συνήθροιζεν.

- 2 Ἀμφιάραος δὲ ὁ Ὀικλέους,<sup>1</sup> μάντις ὢν καὶ προειδὼς ὅτι δεῖ πάντα τοὺς στρατευσαμένους χωρὶς Ἀδράστου τελευτῆσαι, αὐτὸς τε ὤκνει στρατεύεσθαι καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀπέτρεπε. Πολυνείκης δὲ ἀφικόμενος πρὸς Ἴφιν τὸν Ἀλέκτορος ἠξίου μαθεῖν πῶς ἂν Ἀμφιάραος ἀναγκασθεῖη στρα-

<sup>1</sup> Ὀικλέους Aegius : ἰοκλέους A.

<sup>1</sup> That is, the necklace and the robe which Cadmus had given to Harmonia at their marriage. See above, iii. 4. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See above i. 8. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Adrastus received the oracle from Apollo. See Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 408 sqq., *Suppliants*, 132 sqq. In these passages the poet describes the nocturnal brawl between the two exiled princes at the gate of the palace, and their reconciliation by Adrastus. Compare Zenobius, i. 30; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69; and the elaborate description of Statius, *Theb.* i. 370 sqq. The words of the oracle given to Adrastus are quoted by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 409. According to one interpretation the boar on the shield of Tydeus referred to

necklace and the robe.<sup>1</sup> The king of Argos was Adrastus, son of Talaus; and Polynices went up to his palace by night and engaged in a fight with Tydeus, son of Oeneus, who had fled from Calydon.<sup>2</sup> At the sudden outcry Adrastus appeared and parted them, and remembering the words of a certain seer who told him to yoke his daughters in marriage to a boar and a lion,<sup>3</sup> he accepted them both as bridegrooms, because they had on their shields, the one the forepart of a boar, and the other the forepart of a lion.<sup>4</sup> And Tydeus married Deipyle, and Polynices married Argia<sup>b</sup>; and Adrastus promised that he would restore them both to their native lands. And first he was eager to march against Thebes, and he mustered the chiefs.

But Amphiaraus, son of Oicles, being a seer and foreseeing that all who joined in the expedition except Adrastus were destined to perish, shrank from it himself and discouraged the rest. However, Polynices went to Iphis, son of Alector, and begged to know how Amphiaraus could be compelled to go

the Calydonian boar, while the lion on the shield of Polynices referred to the lion-faced sphinx. Others preferred to suppose that the two chieftains were clad in the skins of a boar and a lion respectively. See Scholiast on Euripides, *l.c.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69.

<sup>4</sup> As to the devices which the Greeks painted on their shields, as these are described by ancient writers or depicted in vase-paintings, see G. H. Chase, "The Shield Devices of the Greeks," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. xiii. pp. 61-127. From the evidence collected in this essay (pp. 98 and 112 *sq.*) it appears that both the boar and the lion are common devices on shields in vase-paintings.

<sup>b</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 3; Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 409; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 201 *sqq.*

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τεύεσθαι· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν εἰ λάβοι τὸν ὄρμον Ἐριφύλη.  
 Ἄμφιάρως μὲν οὖν ἀπέειπεν Ἐριφύλη παρὰ Πολυ-  
 νείκους δῶρα λαμβάνειν, Πολυνείκης δὲ δούς αὐτῇ  
 τὸν ὄρμον ἠξίου τὸν Ἄμφιάρων πείσαι στρατεύειν.  
 ἦν γὰρ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ<sup>1</sup> γενομένης γὰρ ταύτης<sup>2</sup> πρὸς  
 Ἄδραστον, διαλυσάμενος ὤμοσε, περὶ ὧν <ἄν><sup>3</sup>  
 Ἄδράστῳ<sup>4</sup> διαφέρηται, διακρίνειν Ἐριφύλη<sup>5</sup> συγ-  
 χωρήσαι. ὅτε οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας ἔδει στρατεύειν,  
 Ἄδράστου μὲν παρακαλοῦντος Ἀμφιαράου δὲ  
 ἀποτρέποντος, Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον λαβοῦσα ἔπει-  
 σεν αὐτὸν σὺν Ἄδράστῳ<sup>6</sup> στρατεύειν. Ἄμφιάρως  
 δὲ ἀνάγκην ἔχων στρατεύεσθαι τοῖς παισὶν  
 ἐντολὰς ἔδωκε τελειωθείσι τὴν τε μητέρα κτείνειν  
 καὶ ἐπὶ Θήβας στρατεύειν.

- 3 Ἄδραστος δὲ συναθροίσας <στρατὸν><sup>7</sup> σὺν ἡγε-  
 μόσιν ἐπὶ πολεμῆν ἔσπευδε Θήβας. οἱ δὲ ἡγε-  
 μόνες ἦσαν οἷδε· Ἄδραστος Ταλαοῦ, Ἀμφιάρως

<sup>1</sup> ταύτῃ Heyne: ταύτης A.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς corrupt: αὐτῷ μάχης Bekker: αὐτῷ διαφορᾶς Hercher. Perhaps we should read: αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἄδραστον διαφορᾶς. I have translated accordingly. Heyne conjectured μάχης, ἔριδος, or ἀμφισβητήσεως for αὐτῆς. Sommer conjectured στάσεως, which is perhaps supported by Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 6, Ἀμφιαράου πρὸς Ἄδραστον στασιάζοντος.

<sup>3</sup> ἄν inserted by Bekker.

<sup>4</sup> Ἄδράστῳ Emperius, Hercher, Wagner: Ἄδραστος A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker.

<sup>5</sup> ἐριφύλη V: ἐριφύλην A.

<sup>6</sup> αὐτὸν σὺν Ἄδράστῳ Wagner: τὸν ὦ ἔδραστων PR<sup>b</sup>: τῷ ἄδράστῳ C: τὸν Ἄδραστον Heyne (regarding the words as an interpolation), Westermann (preferring to read τῷ Ἄδράστῳ συστρατεύειν): τὸν ἄνδρα Commelinus, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>7</sup> στρατὸν a conjecture of Heyne, accepted by Hercher and Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> For the story of the treachery of Eriphyle to her husband Amphiaras, see also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 5 sq.;

to the war. He answered that it could be done if Eriphyle got the necklace.<sup>1</sup> Now Amphiaraus had forbidden Eriphyle to accept gifts from Polynices; but Polynices gave her the necklace and begged her to persuade Amphiaraus to go to the war; for the decision lay with her, because once, when a difference arose between him and Adrastus, he had made it up with him and sworn to let Eriphyle decide any future dispute he might have with Adrastus.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, when war was to be made on Thebes, and the measure was advocated by Adrastus and opposed by Amphiaraus, Eriphyle accepted the necklace and persuaded him to march with Adrastus. Thus forced to go to the war, Amphiaraus laid his commands on his sons, that, when they were grown up, they should slay their mother and march against Thebes.

Having mustered an army with seven leaders, Adrastus hastened to wage war on Thebes. The leaders were these<sup>3</sup>: Adrastus, son of Talau;

Pausanias, v. 17. 7 sq., ix. 41. 2; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 326 (who refers to Asclepiades as his authority); Hyginus, *Fab.* 73; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 49 (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). The story is alluded to but not told by Homer (*Od.* xi. 326 sq., xv. 247), Sophocles (*Electra*, 836 sqq.), and Horace (*Odes*, iii. 16. 11-13). Sophocles wrote a tragedy *Eriphyle*, which was perhaps the same as his *Epigoni*. See *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 129 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 6; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* xi. 326; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 13 (30). As the sister of Adrastus (see above, i. 9. 13) and the wife of Amphiaraus, the traitress Eriphyle might naturally seem well qualified to act as arbiter between them.

<sup>3</sup> For lists of the seven champions who marched against Thebes, see Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 375 sqq.; Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1309 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1090 sqq. and *Suppliants*, 857 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7; Hyginus, *Fab.* 70.



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Ὀικλέους,<sup>1</sup> Καπανεύς Ἴππονίου, Ἴππομέδων Ἀριστομάχου, οἱ δὲ λέγουσι Ταλαοῦ. οὗτοι μὲν ἔξ Ἄργους, Πολυνεΐκης <δὲ><sup>2</sup> Οἰδίποδος ἐκ Θηβῶν, Τυδεὺς Οἰνέως Αἰτωλός, ΠαρθENOΠΑΪΟΣ Μελανίωνος Ἀρκάς. τινὲς δὲ Τυδέα μὲν καὶ Πολυνεΐκην οὐ καταριθμοῦσι, συγκαταλέγουσι δὲ τοῖς ἑπτὰ Ἐτέοκλον Ἴφιους καὶ Μηκιστέα.

- 4 Παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Νεμέαν, ἧς ἐβασίλευε Λυκούργος, ἐζήτησαν ὕδωρ. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἠγγήσατο τῆς ἐπὶ κρήνην ὁδοῦ Ἐψιπύλη, νήπιον παῖδα [ὄντα]<sup>3</sup> Ὀφέλτην ἀπολιποῦσα, ὃν ἔτρεφεν Εὐρυδίκης ὄντα καὶ Λυκούργου. αἰσθόμεναι γὰρ αἱ

<sup>1</sup> Ὀικλέους Aegius : Ἰοκλέους A.      <sup>2</sup> δὲ inserted by Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> ὄντα omitted by Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> The place of Eteoclus among the Seven Champions is recognized by Aeschylus (*Seven against Thebes*, 458 sqq.), Sophocles (*Oedipus Coloneus*, 1316), and Euripides in one play (*Suppliants*, 871 sqq.); but not in another (*Phoenissae*, 1090 sqq.); and he is omitted by Hyginus (*Fab.* 70). His right to rank among the Seven seems to have been acknowledged by the Argives themselves, since they included his portrait in a group of statuary representing the Champions which they dedicated at Delphi. See Pausanias, x. 10. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Brother of Adrastus. See i. 9. 13.

<sup>3</sup> As to the meeting of the Seven Champions with Hypsipyle at Nemea, the death of Opheltes, and the institution of the Nemean games, see Scholia on Pindar, *Nem.*, *Argument*, pp. 424 sq. ed. Boeckh; Bacchylides, *Epinic.* viii. [ix.] 10 sqq.; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 34, p. 29, ed. Potter, with the Scholiast; Hyginus, *Fab.* 74 and 273; Statius, *Theb.* iv. 646-vi.; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iv. 717; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode. vol. i. p. 123 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 141). The institution of the Nemean games in honour of Opheltes or Archemorus was noticed by Aeschylus in a lost play. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>4</sup>, p. 49. The judges at the Nemean games wore dark-coloured robes in mourning, it

Amphiaraus, son of Oicles; Capaneus, son of Hipponous; Hippomedon, son of Aristomachus, but some say of Talaus. These came from Argos; but Polynices, son of Oedipus, came from Thebes; Tydeus, son of Oeneus, was an Aetolian; Parthenopaeus, son of Melanion, was an Arcadian. Some, however, do not reckon Tydeus and Polynices among them, but include Eteoclus, son of Iphis,<sup>1</sup> and Mecisteus<sup>2</sup> in the list of the seven.

Having come to Nemea, of which Lycurgus was king, they sought for water; and Hypsipyle showed them the way to a spring, leaving behind an infant boy Opheltes, whom she nursed, a child of Eurydice and Lycurgus.<sup>3</sup> For the Lemnian women, after-

is said, for Opheltes (Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.*, *Argum.* p. 425, ed. Boeckh); and the crown of parsley bestowed on the victor is reported to have been chosen for the same sad reason (Servius, on Virgil, *Ecl.* vi. 68). However, according to another account, the crowns at Nemea were originally made of olive, but the material was changed to parsley after the disasters of the Persian war (Scholiast on Pindar, *l.c.*). The grave of Opheltes was at Nemea, enclosed by a stone wall; and there were altars within the enclosure (Pausanias, ii. 15, 3). Euripides wrote a tragedy *Hypsipyle*, of which many fragments have recently been discovered in Egyptian papyri. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 594 *sqq.*; A. S. Hunt, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta Papyracea nuper reperta* (Oxford, no date, no pagination). In one of these fragments (col. iv. 27 *sq.*) it is said that Lycurgus was chosen from all Asopia to be the warder (*κληδοῦχος*) of the local Zeus. There were officials bearing the same title (*κλειδοῦχοι*) at Olympia (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*<sup>2</sup>, vol. ii. p. 168, No. 1021) in Delos (Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, vol. i. p. 252, No. 170), and in the worship of Aesculapius at Athens (E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner, *Introduction to Greek Epigraphy*, Part ii. p. 410, No. 157). The duty from which they took their title was to keep the keys of the

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Λήμνιοι ὕστερον Θόαντα σεσωσμένον ἐκείνων μὲν ἔκτειναν, τὴν δὲ Ὑψιπύλην ἀπημπούλησαν διὸ πραθεῖσα<sup>1</sup> ἐλάτρευε παρὰ Λυκούργῳ. δεικνυούσης δὲ τὴν κρήνην, ὁ παῖς ἀπολειφθεὶς ὑπὸ δράκοντος διαφθείρεται. τὸν μὲν οὖν δράκοντα ἐπιφανέντες οἱ μετὰ Ἀδράστου κτείνουσι, τὸν δὲ παῖδα θάπτουσιν. Ἀμφιάραος δὲ εἶπεν ἐκείνοις τὸ σημεῖον τὰ μέλλοντα προμαντεύεσθαι· τὸν δὲ παῖδα Ἀρχέμορον ἐκάλεσαν.<sup>2</sup> οἱ δὲ ἔθεσαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν τῶν Νεμέων ἀγῶνα, καὶ ἵππῳ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀδραστός, σταδίῳ δὲ Ἐτέοκλος, πυγμαῖ Τυδεύς, ἄλματι<sup>3</sup> καὶ δίσκῳ Ἀμφιάραος, ἀκοντίῳ Λαόδοκος, πάλῃ Πολυνεΐκης, τόξῳ Παρθενοπαῖος.

5 Ὡς δὲ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν Κιθαιρώνα, πέμπουσι Τυδέα προερούντα Ἐτεοκλεῖ τῆς βασιλείας<sup>4</sup> παραχωρεῖν Πολυνεΐκει, καθὰ συνέθεντο. μὴ προσέχοντος δὲ Ἐτεοκλέους, διάπειραν τῶν Θηβαίων

<sup>1</sup> *πραθεῖσα* Heyne (who also conjectured *τρέφουσα* or *τροφεύουσα*): *πραφεῖσα* P: *τραφεῖσα* A.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐκάλεσεν* Hercher.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄλματι* Valckenar, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: *ἄρματι* A, Heyne, Westermann.

<sup>4</sup> *τῆς βασιλείας* Hercher: *τὴν βασιλείαν* Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Wagner (following apparently the MSS.).

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temple. A fine relief in the Palazzo Spada at Rome represents the serpent coiled round the dead body of the child Opheltes and attacked by two of the heroes, while in the background Hypsipyle is seen retreating, with her hands held up in horror and her pitcher lying at her feet. See W. H. Roscher, *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. 473; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, i. 113, fig. 119. The death of Opheltes or Archemorus is also the subject of a fine vase-painting, which shows the dead boy lying on a bier and attended by two women, one of whom is

wards learning that Thoas had been saved alive,<sup>1</sup> put him to death and sold Hypsipyle into slavery: wherefore she served in the house of Lycurgus as a purchased bondwoman. But while she showed the spring, the abandoned boy was killed by a serpent. When Adrastus and his party appeared on the scene, they slew the serpent and buried the boy; but Amphiaraus told them that the sign foreboded the future, and they called the boy Archemorus.<sup>2</sup> They celebrated the Nemean games in his honour; and Adrastus won the horse race, Eteoclus the foot race, Tydeus the boxing match, Amphiaraus the leaping and quoit-throwing match, Laodocus the javelin-throwing match, Polynices the wrestling match, and Parthenopæus the archery match.

When they came to Cithæron, they sent Tydeus to tell Eteocles in advance that he must cede the kingdom to Polynices, as they had agreed among themselves. As Eteocles paid no heed to the

about to crown him with a wreath of myrtle, while the other holds an umbrella over his head to prevent, it has been suggested, the sun's rays from being defiled by falling on a corpse. Amongst the figures in the painting, which are identified by inscriptions, is seen the mother Eurydice standing in her palace between the suppliant Hypsipyle on one side and the dignified Amphiaraus on the other. See E. Gerhard, "Archemoros," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Berlin, 1866-1868), i. 5 sqq., with *Abbildungen*, taf. i.; K. Friederichs, *Praxiteles und die Niobegruppe* (Leipzig, 1855), pp. 123 sqq.; A. Baumeister, *op. cit.* i. 114, fig. 120.

<sup>1</sup> See above, i. 9. 17.

<sup>2</sup> That is, "beginner of doom"; hence "ominous," "foreboding." The name is so interpreted by Bacchylides (*Epinic.* viii. 14, *σᾶμα μέλλοντος φόνου*), by the Scholiast on Pindar (*Nem., Argum.* pp. 424 sq. ed. Boeckh), and by Lactantius Placidus in his commentary on Statius (*Theb.* iv. 717).

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Τυδεὺς ποιούμενος, καθ' ἓνα προκαλούμενος πάντων περιεγένετο. οἱ δὲ πενήκοντα ἄνδρας ὀπλίσαντες ἀπίοντα ἐνήδρευσαν αὐτὸν πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς χωρὶς Μαίονος ἀπέκτεινε, κἄπειτα ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἦλθεν.

6 Ἀργεῖοι δὲ καθοπλισθέντες προσήεσαν τοῖς τείχεσι, καὶ πυλῶν ἑπτὰ οὐσῶν Ἄδραστος μὲν παρὰ τὰς Ὀμολοΐδας πύλας ἔστη, Καπανεὺς δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὀγγυγίας, Ἀμφιάραος δὲ παρὰ τὰς Προιτίδας, Ἴππομέδων δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὀγκαΐδας,<sup>1</sup> Πολυνεΐκης δὲ παρὰ τὰς Ὑψίστας, Παρθενοπαῖος <δὲ><sup>2</sup> παρὰ τὰς Ἡλέκτρας, Τυδεὺς δὲ παρὰ τὰς Κρηνίδας. καθώπλισε δὲ καὶ Ἐτεοκλῆς Θηβαίους, καὶ καταστήσας ἡγεμόνας ἴσους ἴσοις ἔταξε, καὶ πῶς ἂν περιγένοιτο τῶν πολεμίων ἐμαντεύετο.

7 ἦν δὲ παρὰ Θηβαίοις μάντις Τειρεσίας Εὐήρους καὶ Χαρικλοῦς νύμφης, ἀπὸ γένους Οὐδαίου τοῦ Σπαρτοῦ, γενόμενος τυφλὸς τὰς ὀράσεις. οὐ περὶ τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τῆς μαντικῆς λέγονται λόγοι διάφοροι. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν φασι τυφλωθῆναι, ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἂ κρύπτειν ἤθελον ἐμήνυε, Φερεκύδης δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ὀγκαΐδας Aegius: ὀχηΐδας A.

<sup>2</sup> δὲ inserted by Heyne.

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<sup>1</sup> For the embassy of Tydeus to Thebes and its sequel, see Homer, *Il.* iv. 382-398, v. 802-808, with the Scholiast on v. 376; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 4; Statius, *Theb.* ii. 307 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The siege of Thebes by the Argive army under the Seven Champions is the subject of two extant Greek tragedies, the *Seven against Thebes* of Aeschylus, and the *Phoenissae* of Euripides. In both of them the attack on the seven gates by the Seven Champions is described. See the *Seven against Thebes*, 375 sqq.; *Phoenissae*, 105 sqq., 1090 sqq. The siege is also the theme of Statius's long-winded and bombastic

message, Tydeus, by way of putting the Thebans to the proof, challenged them to single combat and was victorious in every encounter; and though the Thebans set fifty armed men to lie in wait for him as he went away, he slew them all but Maeon, and then came to the camp.<sup>1</sup>

Having armed themselves, the Argives approached the walls<sup>2</sup>; and as there were seven gates, Adrastus was stationed at the Homoloidian gate, Capaneus at the Ogygian, Amphiaraus at the Proetidian, Hippomedon at the Oncaidian, Polynices at the Hypsistan,<sup>3</sup> Parthenopæus at the Electran, and Tydeus at the Crenidian.<sup>4</sup> Eteocles on his side armed the Thebans, and having appointed leaders to match those of the enemy in number, he put the battle in array, and resorted to divination to learn how they might overcome the foe. Now there was among the Thebans a soothsayer, Tiresias, son of Everes and a nymph Chariclo, of the family of Udaeus, the Spartan,<sup>5</sup> and he had lost the sight of his eyes. Different stories are told about his blindness and his power of soothsaying. For some say that he was blinded by the gods because he revealed their secrets to men. But epic, the *Thebaid*. Compare also Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7-9; Pausanias, i. 39. 2, ii. 20. 5, viii. 25. 4, x. 10. 3; Hyginus, *Fab.* 69, 70. The war was also the subject of two lost poems of the same name, the *Thebaid* of Callinus, an early elegiac poet, and the *Thebaid* of Antimachus, a contemporary of Plato. See *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel. pp. 9 *sqq.*, 275 *sqq.* As to the seven gates of Thebes, see Pausanias, ix. 8. 4-7, with my commentary (vol. iv. pp. 35 *sqq.*). The ancients were not entirely agreed as to the names of the gates.

<sup>1</sup> That is, "the Highest Gate."

<sup>2</sup> That is, "the Fountain Gate."

<sup>3</sup> That is, one of the Sparti, the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus. See above, iii. 4. 1.

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τυφλωθήναι· οὖσαν γὰρ τὴν Χαρικλὴν προσφιλῆ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ<sup>1</sup>. . . γυμνὴν ἐπὶ πάντα ἰδεῖν, τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην<sup>2</sup> πηρὸν ποιῆσαι, Χαρικλοῦς δὲ δεομένης ἀποκαταστήσαι πάλιν τὰς ὁράσεις, μὴ δυναμένην τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τὰς ἀκοὰς διακαθάρασαν πᾶσαν ὀρνίθιον φωνὴν ποιῆσαι συνεῖναι, καὶ σκῆπτρον αὐτῷ δωρήσασθαι κράνειον,<sup>3</sup> ὃ φέρων ὁμοίως τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἐβάδιζεν. Ἡσιόδος δὲ φησιν ὅτι θεα-

<sup>1</sup> The lacuna was indicated by Heyne, who proposed to restore the passage as follows: οὖσαν γὰρ τῇ Χαρικλοῖ προσφιλῆ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αὐτὴν γυμνὴν ἐπιστάντα (or ἐπιβάντα) ἰδεῖν, "For Athena was a friend of Chariclo, and he came upon her and saw her naked." This gives the requisite sense, and probably represents very nearly the original reading of the passage. The friendship of Athena for the nymph Chariclo, the mother of Tiresias, is mentioned to explain the opportunity which Tiresias had of seeing the goddess naked.

<sup>2</sup> ταῖς χερσὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καταλαβομένην. These words have been wrongly suspected or altered by the editors. Heyne proposed to omit τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς as a gloss or to re-write the passage thus: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ἔδωκε καταβαλοῦσαν πηρὸν ποιῆσαι. Hercher wrote: τὴν δὲ ταῖς χερσὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ λαβομένην πηρὸν ποιῆσαι. They all apparently suppose that the goddess blinded Tiresias by scratching out his eyes. But she simply held her hands over the eyes of the prying intruder, and the mere touch of her divine fingers sufficed to blind him for ever. Compare Plato, *Theaetetus*, p. 165 BC: τί γὰρ χρήσει ἀφύκτω ἐρωτήματι, τὸ λεγόμενον ἐν φρέατι συνεχόμενος, ὅταν ἐρωτᾷ ἀνέκκληκτος (unabashed) ἀνὴρ, καταλαβὼν τῇ χειρὶ σοῦ τὸν ἕτερον ὀφθαλμόν, εἰ ὄρας τὸ ἰμάτιον τῷ κατειλημένῳ; If any change were desirable, it would be καταλαβοῦσαν for καταλαβομένην, but even this is not necessary. Compare Diodorus Siculus, iii. 37. ὃ κατελάβοντο δεσμοῖς τὸ στόμιον (the mouth of a serpent's den).

<sup>3</sup> κράνειον Aegius, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: κνάνειον EA, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

Pherecydes says that he was blinded by Athena<sup>1</sup>; for Chariclo was dear to Athena . . . and Tiresias saw the goddess stark naked, and she covered his eyes with her hands, and so rendered him sightless. And when Chariclo asked her to restore his sight, she could not do so, but by cleansing his ears she caused him to understand every note of birds; and she gave him a staff of cornel-wood,<sup>2</sup> wherewith he walked like those who see. But Hesiod says that he

<sup>1</sup> The blinding of Tiresias by Athena is described by Callimachus in his hymn, *The Baths of Pallas*. He tells how the nymph Chariclo, mother of Tiresias, was the favourite attendant of Athena, who carried her with her wherever she went, often mounting the nymph in her own car. One summer day, when the heat and stillness of noon reigned in the mountains, the goddess and the nymph had stripped and were enjoying a cool plunge in the fair-flowing spring of Hippocrene on Mount Helicon. But the youthful Tiresias, roaming the hills with his dogs, came to slake his thirst at the bubbling spring and saw what it was not lawful to see. The goddess cried out in anger, and at once the eyes of the intruder were quenched in darkness. His mother, the nymph, reproached the goddess with blinding her son, but Athena explained that she had not done so, but that the laws of the gods inflicted the penalty of blindness on anyone who beheld an immortal without his or her consent. To console the youth for the loss of his sight the goddess promised to bestow on him the gifts of prophecy and divination, long life, and after death the retention of his mental powers undimmed in the world below. See Callimachus, *Baths of Pallas*, 57-133. In this account Callimachus probably followed Pherecydes, who, as we learn from the present passage of Apollodorus, assigned the same cause for the blindness of Tiresias. It is said that Erymanthus, son of Apollo, was blinded because he saw Aphrodite bathing. See Ptolemaeus Hephaest. *Nov. Hist.* i. in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> According to the MSS., it was a blue staff. See Critical Note. As to the cornel-tree in ancient myth and fable, see C. Boetticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (Berlin, 1856), pp. 130 sqq.



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σάμενος περὶ Κυλλήνην ὄφεις συνουσιάζοντας  
καὶ τούτους τρώσας ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀνδρὸς <sup>1</sup> γυνή,  
πάλιν δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὄφεις παρατηρήσας συνου-  
σιάζοντας ἐγένετο ἀνήρ. διόπερ Ἡρα καὶ Ζεὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἀνδρὸς E: ἀνδρῶν A.

<sup>1</sup> This curious story of the double change of sex experienced by Tiresias, with the cause of it, is told also by Phlegon, *Mirabilia*, 4; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 683; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.* x. 492, p. 1665; Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494; Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 17; Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 316 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 75; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* ii. 95; Fulgentius, *Mytholog.* ii. 8; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 5, 104, 169 (First Vatican Mythographer, 16; Second Vatican Mythographer, 84; Third Vatican Mythographer, iv. 8). Phlegon says that the story was told by Hesiod, Dicaearchus, Clitarchus, and Callimachus. He agrees with Apollodorus, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second Vatican Mythographer in laying the scene of the incident on Mount Cyllene in Arcadia; whereas Eustathius and Tzetzes lay it on Mount Cithaeron in Boeotia, which is more appropriate for a Theban seer. According to Eustathius and Tzetzes, it was by killing the female snake that Tiresias became a woman, and it was by afterwards killing the male snake that he was changed back into a man. According to Ovid, the seer remained a woman for seven years, and recovered his male sex in the eighth; the First Vatican Mythographer says that he recovered it after eight years; the Third Vatican Mythographer affirms that he recovered it in the seventh year. All the writers I have cited, except Antoninus Liberalis, record the verdict of Tiresias on the question submitted to him by Zeus and Hera, though they are not all agreed as to the precise mathematical proportion expressed in it. Further, they all, except Antoninus Liberalis, agree that the blindness of Tiresias was a punishment inflicted on him by Hera (Juno) because his answer to the question was displeasing to her. According to Phlegon, Hyginus, Lactantius Placidus, and the Second

beheld snakes copulating on Cyllene, and that having wounded them he was turned from a man into a woman, but that on observing the same snakes copulating again, he became a man.<sup>1</sup> Hence, when

Vatican Mythographer the life of Tiresias was prolonged by Zeus (Jupiter) so as to last seven ordinary lives.

The notion that it is unlucky to see snakes coupling appears to be widespread. In Southern India "the sight of two snakes coiled round each other in sexual congress is considered to portend some great evil" (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, Madras, 1906, p. 293). The Chins of North-eastern India think that "one of the worst omens that it is possible to see is two snakes copulating, and a man who sees this is not supposed to return to his house or to speak to anyone until the next sun has risen" (Bertram S. Carey and H. N. Tuck, *The Chin Hills*, vol. i. Rangoon, 1896, p. 199). "It is considered extremely unlucky for a Chin to come upon two snakes copulating, and to avoid ill-fortune he must remain outside the village that night, without eating cooked food; the next morning he may proceed to his house, but, on arrival there, must kill a fowl and, if within his means, hold a feast. If a man omits these precautions and is found out, he is liable to pay compensation of a big *mythun*, a pig, one blanket, and one bead, whatever his means, to the first man he brings ill-luck to by talking to him. Before the British occupation, if the man, for any reason, could not pay the compensation, the other might make a slave of him, by claiming a pig whenever one of his daughters married" (W. R. Head, *Haka Chin Customs*, Rangoon, 1917, p. 44). In the Himalayas certain religious ceremonies are prescribed when a person has seen snakes coupling (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1884, pt. i. p. 101; the nature of the ceremonies is not described). In Timorlaut, one of the East Indian Islands, it is deemed an omen of great misfortune if a man dreams that he sees snakes coupling (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 285). Similarly in Southern India there prevails "a superstitious belief that, if a person sees two crows engaged in sexual congress, he will die unless one of his relations sheds tears. To avert this catastrophe, false news as to the death are sent

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ἀμφισβητούντες πότερον τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις συμβαίνοι, τοῦτον ἀνέκριναν. ὁ δὲ ἔφη δέκα μοιρῶν περὶ τὰς συνουσίας οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν μίαν ἄνδρας ἤδεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ἑννέα<sup>1</sup> γυναῖκας. ὅθεν Ἡρα μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτύφλωσε, Ζεὺς δὲ τὴν μαντικὴν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν.

[τὸ ὑπὸ Τειρεσίου λεχθὲν πρὸς Δία καὶ Ἡραν οἴην μὲν μοῖραν δέκα μοιρῶν τέρπεται ἀνὴρ, τὰς δὲ δέκ' ἐμπίπλησι γυνὴ τέρπουσα νόημα.]<sup>2</sup>

ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πολυχρόνιος.

Οὗτος οὖν Θηβαίοις μαντευομένοις<sup>3</sup> εἶπε νικήσειν, εἰ μὴ Μειοικεὺς ὁ Κρέοντος Ἄρει σφάγιον αὐτὸν ἐπιδῶ. τοῦτο ἀκούσας Μειοικεὺς ὁ Κρέοντος ἑαυτὸν πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔσφαξε. μάχης δὲ γενομένης οἱ Καδμεῖοι μέχρι τῶν τειχῶν συνεδιώχθησαν, καὶ Καπανεὺς ἀρπάσας κλίμακα ἐπὶ τὰ τεῖχη δι' αὐτῆς ἀνήει, καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸν κεραυνοῖ.  
8 τούτου δὲ γενομένου τροπή<sup>4</sup> τῶν Ἀργείων γίνεται. ὡς δὲ ἀπώλλυντο πολλοί, δόξαν ἐκατέροις τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> δέκα . . . τὴν μὲν μίαν . . . τὰς δὲ ἑννέα Barth, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: δεκαεννέα . . . τὰς μὲν ἑννέα . . . τὰς δὲ δέκα A, Heyne, Westermann, Müller.

<sup>2</sup> These verses are probably interpolated. They are repeated by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494, and by Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 683.

<sup>3</sup> μαντευομένοις Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: μαντευόμενος A, Westermann, Müller.

<sup>4</sup> τροπή Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: τρώπαιον A, Westermann.

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by the post or telegraph, and subsequently corrected by a letter or telegram announcing that the individual is alive" (E. Thurston, *op. cit.* p. 278). A similar belief as to the dire effect of seeing crows coupling, and a similar mode of averting

Hera and Zeus disputed whether the pleasures of love are felt more by women or by men, they referred to him for a decision. He said that if the pleasures of love be reckoned at ten, men enjoy one and women nine. Wherefore Hera blinded him, but Zeus bestowed on him the art of soothsaying.

The saying of Tiresias to Zeus and Hera.  
 Of ten parts a man enjoys one only ;  
 But a woman enjoys the full ten parts in her heart.<sup>1</sup>

He also lived to a great age.

So when the Thebans sought counsel of him, he said that they should be victorious if Menoeceus, son of Creon, would offer himself freely as a sacrifice to Ares. On hearing that, Menoeceus, son of Creon, slew himself before the gates.<sup>2</sup> But a battle having taken place, the Cadmeans were chased in a crowd as far as the walls, and Capaneus, seizing a ladder, was climbing up it to the walls, when Zeus smote him with a thunderbolt.<sup>3</sup> When that befell, the Argives turned to flee. And as many fell,

the calamity, are reported in the Central Provinces of India (M. R. Pedlow, "Superstitions among Hindoos in the Central Provinces," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxix. Bombay, 1900, p. 88).

<sup>1</sup> These lines are also quoted by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 683) from a poem *Melampodia*; they are cited also by the Scholiast on Homer, *Od.* x. 494.

<sup>2</sup> As to the voluntary sacrifice of Menoeceus, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 911 *sqq.*; Pausanias, ix. 25. 1; Cicero, *Tuscul. Disput.* i. 48. 116; Hyginus, *Fab.* 68; Statius, *Theb.* x. 589 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> As to the death of Capaneus, compare Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 423 *sqq.*; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1172 *sqq.*; *id.* *Suppliants*, 496 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Hyginus, *Fab.* 71; Statius, *Theb.* x. 827 *sqq.*

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στρατεύμασιν Ἐτεοκλῆς καὶ Πολυνείκης περὶ τῆς βασιλείας μονομαχοῦσι, καὶ κτείνουσιν ἀλλήλους. καρτερᾶς δὲ πάλιν γενομένης μάχης οἱ Ἄστακοῦ<sup>1</sup> παῖδες ἠρίστευσαν Ἴσμαρος μὲν γὰρ Ἴππομέδοντα ἀπέκτεινε, Λεάδης δὲ Ἐτέοκλον, Ἀμφίδικος δὲ Παρθενοπαῖον. ὡς δὲ Εὐριπίδης φησί, Παρθενοπαῖον ὁ Ποσειδῶνος παῖς Περικλύμενος ἀπέκτεινε. Μελάνιππος δὲ ὁ λοιπὸς τῶν Ἄστακοῦ<sup>2</sup> παίδων εἰς τὴν γαστέρα Τυδέα τιτρώσκει. ἡμιθνήτος δὲ αὐτοῦ κειμένου παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη Ἀθηναῖ φάρμακον ἤνεγκε, δι' οὗ ποιεῖν ἔμελλεν ἀθάνατον αὐτόν. Ἀμφιάραιος δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο, μισῶν Τυδέα ὅτι παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην εἰς Θήβας ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀργεῖους στρατεύεσθαι, τὴν Μελάνιππου κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμῶν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ Τυδεὺς ἔκτεινεν αὐτόν].<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ διελὼν τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐξερρόφησεν. ὡς δὲ εἶδεν Ἀθηναῖ, μυσσαχθεῖσα τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ἐπέσχε τε καὶ ἐφθόν-

<sup>1</sup> Ἄστακοῦ Aegius: ἀστυάγους A.

<sup>2</sup> Ἄστακοῦ Westermann, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: ἀστυάγους A. Aegius, Commelinus, Gale, Heyne, and Bekker omit the noun, reading simply τῶν παίδων.

<sup>3</sup> τιτρωσκόμενος δὲ Τυδεὺς ἔκτεινεν αὐτόν. These words are probably an interpolation, as Heyne rightly observed. They are omitted by Hercher.

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<sup>1</sup> As to the single combat and death of Eteocles and Polynices, see Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 804 sqq.; Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1356 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Pausanias, ix. 5. 12; Hyginus, *Fab.* 71; Statius, *Theb.* xi. 447-579.

<sup>2</sup> According to Statius (*Theb.* ix. 455-539), Hippomedon was overwhelmed by a cloud of Theban missiles after being nearly drowned in the river Ismenus.

<sup>3</sup> As to the death of Parthenopaeus, see Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 1153 sqq. In the *Thebaid*, also, Periclymenus was

Eteocles and Polynices, by the resolution of both armies, fought a single combat for the kingdom, and slew each other.<sup>1</sup> In another fierce battle the sons of Astacus did doughty deeds; for Ismarus slew Hippomedon,<sup>2</sup> Leades slew Eteoclus, and Amphidocus slew Parthenopæus. But Euripides says that Parthenopæus was slain by Periclymenus, son of Poseidon.<sup>3</sup> And Melanippus, the remaining one of the sons of Astacus, wounded Tydeus in the belly. As he lay half dead, Athena brought a medicine which she had begged of Zeus, and by which she intended to make him immortal. But Amphiarus hated Tydeus for thwarting him by persuading the Argives to march to Thebes; so when he perceived the intention of the goddess he cut off the head of Melanippus and gave it to Tydeus, who, wounded though he was, had killed him. And Tydeus split open the head and gulped up the brains. But when Athena saw that, in disgust she grudged and withheld the intended benefit.<sup>4</sup>

represented as the slayer of Parthenopæus. See Pausanias, ix. 18. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 1066; Scholiast on Pindar, *Nem.* x. 7 (12); Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* v. 126. All these writers say that it was Amphiarus, not Tydeus, who killed as well as decapitated Melanippus. Pausanias also (ix. 18. 1) represents Melanippus as slain by Amphiarus. Hence Heyne was perhaps right in rejecting as an interpolation the words "who, wounded though he was, had killed him." See the Critical Note. The story is told also by Statius (*Theb.* viii. 717-767) in his usual diffuse style; but according to him it was Capaneus, not Amphiarus, who slew and beheaded Melanippus and brought the gory head to Tydeus. The story of Tydeus's savagery is alluded to more than once by Ovid in his *Ibis* (427 sq., 515 sq.), that curious work in which the poet has distilled the whole range of ancient mythology for the purpose of commination. With this tradition of

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ἦσεν. Ἀμφιάρῳ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἴσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τρωθῆ, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἄρματι καὶ τῷ ἡμιόχῳ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἐλάτωνι,<sup>1</sup> ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλάτωνι Sommer, Wagner: ἐλάττωνι R<sup>a</sup>: ἐλάττωνον B: ἐλάττω C: Ἐλαττωνῶ Heyne, Westermann, Müller: Ἐλαττωνῶ Bekker: Ἐλάτῳ L. Dindorf, Hercher.

cannibalism on the field of battle we may compare the custom of the ancient Scythians, who regularly decapitated their enemies in battle and drank of the blood of the first man they slew (Herodotus iv. 64). It has indeed been a common practice with savages to swallow some part of a slain foe in order with the blood, or flesh, or brains to acquire the dead man's valour. See for example L. A. Millet-Mureau, *Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde* (Paris, 1797), ii. 272 (as to the Californian Indians); Fay-Cooper Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao* (Chicago, 1913), pp. 94, 189 (as to the Philippine Islanders). I have cited many more instances in *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 148 sqq. The story of the brutality of Tydeus to Melanippus may contain a reminiscence of a similar custom. From the Scholiast on Homer (*l.c.*) we learn that the story was told by Pherecydes, whom Apollodorus may be following in the present passage. The grave of Melanippus was on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (Pausanias, ix. 18. 1), but Clisthenes, tyrant of Sicyon, "fetched Melanippus" (ἐπηγάγετο τὸν Μελανίππον) to Sicyon and dedicated a precinct to him in the Prytaneum or town-hall; moreover, he transferred to Melanippus the sacrifices and festal honours which till then had been offered to Adrastus, the foe of Melanippus. See Herodotus, v. 67. It is probable that Clisthenes, in "fetching Melanippus," transferred the hero's bones to the new shrine at Sicyon, following a common practice of the ancient Greeks, who were as anxious to secure the miraculous relics of heroes as modern Catholics are to secure the equally miraculous relics of saints. The most famous case of such a translation of holy bones was that of Orestes, whose remains were removed from

Amphiaraus fled beside the river Ismenus, and before Periclymenus could wound him in the back, Zeus cleft the earth by throwing a thunderbolt, and Amphiaraus vanished with his chariot and his charioteer Baton, or, as some say, Elato;<sup>1</sup> and Zeus made him immortal.

Tegea to Sparta (Herodotus, i. 67 sq.). Pausanias mentions many instances of the practice. See the Index to my translation of Pausanias, s.v. "Bones," vol. vi. p. 31. It was, no doubt, unusual to bury bones in the Prytaneum, where was the Common Hearth of the city (Pollux, ix. 40; *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, ii. 467, lines 6, 73; my note on Pausanias, viii. 53. 9, vol. iv. pp. 441 sq.); but at Mantinea there was a round building called the Common Hearth in which Antioe, daughter of Cepheus, was said to be buried (Pausanias, viii. 9. 5); and the graves of not a few heroes and heroines were shown in Greek temples. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept*, iii. 45, pp. 39 sq., ed. Potter. The subject of relic worship in antiquity is exhaustively treated by Fried. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* (Giessen, 1909-1912).

<sup>1</sup> Compare Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 24 (59) sqq., x. 8 (13) sq.; Euripides, *Suppliants*, 925 sqq.; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 8; Strabo, ix. 2. 11, p. 404; Pausanias, i. 34. 2, ii. 23. 2, ix. 8. 3, ix. 19. 4; Statius, *Theb.* vii. 789-823. The reference to Periclymenus clearly proves that Apollodorus had here in mind the first of these passages of Pindar. Pausanias repeatedly mentions Baton as the charioteer of Amphiaraus (ii. 23. 2, v. 17. 8, x. 10. 3). Amphiaraus was believed to be swallowed up alive, with his chariot and horses, and so to descend to the nether world. See Euripides, *Suppliants*, 925 sqq.; Statius, *Theb.* viii. 1 sqq.; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 49 (First Vatican Mythographer, 152). Hence Sophocles speaks of him as reigning fully alive in Hades (*Electra*, 836 sqq.). Moreover, Amphiaraus was deified (Pausanias, viii. 2. 4; Cicero, *De divinatione*, i. 40. 88), and as a god he had a famous oracle charmingly situated in a little glen near Oropus in Attica. See Pausanias, i. 34, with my commentary (vol. ii. pp. 466 sqq.). The exact spot where Amphiaraus disappeared into the earth was shown not far from Thebes on the road to Potniae. It



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ἐποίησεν. Ἄδραστον δὲ μόνον ἵππος διέσωσεν Ἄρειων· τοῦτον ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε Δημήτηρ εἰκασθεῖσα ἐρινύι κατὰ τὴν συνουσίαν.

VII. Κρέων δὲ τὴν Θηβαίων βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς τῶν Ἀργείων νεκροὺς ἔρριψεν ἀτάφους, καὶ κηρύξας μηδένα θάπτειν φύλακας κατέστησεν. Ἀντιγόνη δέ, μία τῶν Οἰδίποδος θυγατέρων, κρύφα τὸ Πολυνείκους σῶμα κλέψασα ἔθαψε, καὶ φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κρέοντος αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> τῷ τάφῳ ζῶσα<sup>2</sup> ἐνεκρύφθη.<sup>3</sup> Ἄδραστος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀφικόμενος

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶ R: αὐτὴν A.

<sup>2</sup> ζῶσα R: ζῶσαν A.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνεκρύφθη R: ἐνεκρύψατο R<sup>c</sup> in margin, C.

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was a small enclosure with pillars in it. See Pausanias, ix. 8. 3. As the ground was split open by a thunderbolt to receive Amphiaraus (Pindar, *Nem.* ix. 24 (59) *sqq.*, x. 8 (13) *sq.*), the enclosure with pillars in it was doubtless one of those little sanctuaries, marked off by a fence, which the Greeks always instituted on ground struck by lightning. See below, note on iii. 7. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Arion, the swift steed of Adrastus, is mentioned by Homer, who alludes briefly to the divine parentage of the animal (*Il.* xxiii. 346 *sq.*), without giving particulars as to the quaint and curious myth with which he was probably acquainted. That myth, one of the most savage of all the stories of ancient Greece, was revealed by later writers. See Pausanias, viii. 25. 4-10, viii. 42. 1-6; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 153; compare Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 346. The story was told at two places in the highlands of Arcadia: one was Thelpusa in the beautiful vale of the Ladon; the other was Phigalia, where the shallow cave of the goddess mother of the horse was shown far down the face of a cliff in the wild romantic gorge of the Neda. The cave still exists, though the goddess is gone: it has been converted into a tiny chapel of Christ and St. John. See my commentary on Pausanias, vol. iv. pp. 406 *sq.* According to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 65. 9) Adrastus returned to Argos. But Pausanias says (i. 43. 1) that he died at Megara of old age and grief at his son's death, when he was leading back his beaten army from Thebes:

Adrastus alone was saved by his horse Arion. That horse Poseidon begot on Demeter, when in the likeness of a Fury she consorted with him.<sup>1</sup>

VII. Having succeeded to the kingdom of Thebes, Creon cast out the Argive dead unburied, issued a proclamation that none should bury them, and set watchmen. But Antigone, one of the daughters of Oedipus, stole the body of Polynices, and secretly buried it, and having been detected by Creon himself, she was interred alive in the grave.<sup>2</sup> Adrastus fled to Athens<sup>3</sup> and took refuge at the altar of

Pausanias informs us also that Adrastus was worshipped, doubtless as a hero, by the Megarians. Hyginus (*Fab.* 242) tells a strange story that Adrastus and his son Hipponou threw themselves into the fire in obedience to an oracle of Apollo.

<sup>2</sup> Apollodorus here follows the account of Antigone's heroism and doom as they are described by Sophocles in his noble tragedy, the *Antigone*. Compare Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes*, 1005 *sqq.* A different version of the story is told by Hyginus (*Fab.* 72). According to him, when Antigone was caught in the act of performing funeral rites for her brother Polynices, Creon handed her over for execution to his son Haemon, to whom she had been betrothed. But Haemon, while he pretended to put her to death, smuggled her out of the way, married her, and had a son by her. In time the son grew up and came to Thebes, where Creon detected him by the bodily mark which all descendants of the Sparti or Dragon-men bore on their bodies. In vain Hercules interceded for Haemon with his angry father. Creon was inexorable; so Haemon killed himself and his wife Antigone. Some have thought that in this narrative Hyginus followed Euripides, who wrote a tragedy *Antigone*, of which a few fragments survive. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 404 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> As to the flight of Adrastus to Athens, and the intervention of the Athenians on his behalf see Isocrates, *Panegyric*, §§ 54-58, *Panathen.* §§ 168-174; Pausanias, i. 39. 2; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 464 *sqq.* (who sub-

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ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλέου βωμὸν κατέφυγε, καὶ ἱκετηρίαν θεῖς ἠξίου θάπτειν τοὺς νεκροὺς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ Θησέως στρατεύσαντες αἰροῦσι Θήβας καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοῖς οἰκείοις διδῶσι θάψαι. τῆς Καπανέως δὲ καιομένης πυρᾶς, Εὐάδνη,<sup>1</sup> ἢ Καπανέως μὲν γυνὴ θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἴφιος, ἑαυτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσα<sup>2</sup> συγκατεκαίετο.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Εὐάδνη R: εὐαίανη A.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμβαλοῦσα Heyne: βαλοῦσα A, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30.

<sup>3</sup> συγκατεκαύθη, Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30, Hercher.

stitutes Argive matrons as suppliants instead of Adrastus). The story is treated by Euripides in his extant play *The Suppliants*, which, on the whole, Apollodorus follows. But whereas Apollodorus, like Statius, lays the scene of the supplication at the altar of Mercy in Athens, Euripides lays it at the altar of Demeter in Eleusis (*Suppliants*, 1 sq.). In favour of the latter version it may be said that the graves of the fallen leaders were shown at Eleusis, near the Flowery Well (Pausanias, i. 39. 1 sq.; Plutarch, *Theseus*, 29); while the graves of the common soldiers were at Eleutheræ, which is on the borders of Attica and Boeotia, on the direct road from Eleusis to Thebes (Euripides, *Suppliants*, 756 sq.; Plutarch, *l.c.*). Tradition varied also on the question how the Athenians obtained the permission of the Thebans to bury the Argive dead. Some said that Theseus led an army to Thebes, defeated the Thebans, and compelled them to give up the dead Argives for burial. This was the version adopted by Euripides, Statius, and Apollodorus. Others said that Theseus sent an embassy and by negotiations obtained the voluntary consent of the Thebans to his carrying off the dead. This version, as the less discreditable to the Thebans, was very naturally adopted by them (Pausanias, i. 39. 2) and by the patriotic Boeotian Plutarch, who expressly rejects Euripides's account of the Theban defeat. Isocrates, with almost incredible fatuity, adopts both versions in different passages of his writings and defends himself for so doing (*Panathen.* §§ 168-174). Lysias, without expressly mentioning the flight of Adrastus to Athens, says that the Athenians

Mercy,<sup>1</sup> and laying on it the suppliant's bough<sup>2</sup> he prayed that they would bury the dead. And the Athenians marched with Theseus, captured Thebes, and gave the dead to their kinsfolk to bury. And when the pyre of Capaneus was burning, his wife Evadne, the daughter of Iphis, threw herself on the pyre, and was burned with him.<sup>3</sup>

first sent heralds to the Thebans with a request for leave to bury the Argive dead, and that when the request was refused, they marched against the Thebans, defeated them in battle, and carrying off the Argive dead buried them at Eleusis. See Lysias, ii. 7-10.

<sup>1</sup> As to the altar of Mercy at Athens see above ii. 8. 1; Pausanias, i. 17. 1, with my note (vol. ii. pp. 143 sq.); Diodorus Siculus, xiii. 22. 7; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 481-505. It is mentioned in a late Greek inscription found at Athens (*Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, iii. No. 170; G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus collecta*, No. 792). The altar, though not mentioned by early writers, was in later times one of the most famous spots in Athens. Philostratus says that the Athenians built an altar of Mercy as the thirteenth of the gods, and that they poured libations on it, not of wine, but of tears (*Epist.* 39). In this fancy he perhaps copied Statius (*Theb.* xii. 488, "*lacrymis altaria sudant*").

<sup>2</sup> The branch of olive which a suppliant laid on the altar of a god in token that he sought the divine protection. See Andocides, *De mysteriis*, 110 sq.; R. C. Jebb, on Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 3.

<sup>3</sup> For the death of Evadne on the pyre of her husband Capaneus, see Euripides, *Suppliants*, 1034 sq.; Zenobius, *Cent.* i. 30; Propertius, i. 15. 21 sq.; Ovid, *Tristia*, v. 14. 38; *id.* *Pont.* iii. 1. 111 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 243; Statius, *Theb.* xii. 800 sq. with the note of Lactantius Placidus on v. 801; Martial, iv. 75. 5. Capaneus had been killed by a thunderbolt as he was mounting a ladder at the siege of Thebes. See Apollodorus, iii. 6. 7. Hence his body was deemed sacred and should have been buried, not burned, and the grave fenced off; whereas the other bodies were all consumed on a single pyre. See Euripides, *Suppliants*, 934-938, where *συμμήξας τάφον*

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### 2 Μετὰ δὲ ἔτη δέκα οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων παῖδες, κληθέντες ἐπίγονοι, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Θήβας προη-

refers to the fencing in of the grave. So the tomb of Semele, who was also killed by lightning, seems to have stood within a sacred enclosure. See Euripides, *Bacchae*, 6-11. Yet, inconsistently with the foregoing passage, Euripides appears afterwards to assume that the body of Capaneus was burnt on a pyre (*vv.* 1000 *sqq.*). The rule that a person killed by a thunderbolt should be buried, not burnt, is stated by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* ii. 145) and alluded to by Tertullian (*Apologeticus*, 48). An ancient Roman law, attributed to Numa, forbade the celebration of the usual obsequies for a man who had been killed by lightning. See Festus, *s.v.* "Occisum," p. 178, ed. C. O. Müller. It is true that these passages refer to the Roman usage, but the words of Euripides (*Supplianis*, 934-938) seem to imply that the Greek practice was similar, and this is confirmed by Artemidorus, who says that the bodies of persons killed by lightning were not removed but buried on the spot (*Onirocrit.* ii. 9). The same writer tells us that a man struck by lightning was not deemed to be disgraced, nay, he was honoured as a god; even slaves killed by lightning were approached with respect, as honoured by Zeus, and their dead bodies were wrapt in fine garments. Such customs are to some extent explained by the belief that Zeus himself descended in the flash of lightning; hence whatever the lightning struck was naturally regarded as holy. Places struck by lightning were sacred to Zeus the Descender (*Zeὺς καταβάτης*) and were enclosed by a fence. Inscriptions marking such spots have been found in various parts of Greece. See Pollux, ix. 41; Pausanias, v. 14. 10, with my note (*vol.* iii. p. 565, *vol.* v. p. 614). Compare E. Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>3</sup>, i. 320 *sq.*; H. Usener, "Keraunos," *Kleine Schriften*, iv. 477 *sqq.* (who quotes from Clemens Romanus and Cyrillus more evidence of the worship of persons killed by lightning); Chr. Blinkenberg, *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 110 *sq.*

Among the Ossetes of the Caucasus a man who has been killed by lightning is deemed very lucky, for they believe that he has been taken by St. Elias to himself. So the survivors raise cries of joy and sing and dance about him. His

Ten years afterwards the sons of the fallen, called the Epigoni, purposed to march against Thebes to

relations think it their duty to join in these dances and rejoicings, for any appearance of sorrow would be regarded as a sin against St. Elias and therefore punishable. The festival lasts eight days. The deceased is dressed in new clothes and laid on a pillow in the exact attitude in which he was struck and in the same place where he died. At the end of the celebrations he is buried with much festivity and feasting, a high cairn is erected on his grave, and beside it they set up a tall pole with the skin of a black he-goat attached to it, and another pole, on which hang the best clothes of the deceased. The grave becomes a place of pilgrimage. See Julius von Klaproth, *Reise in den Kaukasus und nach Georgien* (Halle and Berlin, 1814), ii. 606; A. von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasien* (Leipsic, 1856), ii. 21 sq. Similarly the Kafirs of South Africa "have strange notions respecting the lightning. They consider that it is governed by the *umshologu*, or ghost, of the greatest and most renowned of their departed chiefs, and who is emphatically styled the *inkosi*; but they are not at all clear as to which of their ancestors is intended by this designation. Hence they allow of no lamentation being made for a person killed by lightning, as they say that it would be a sign of disloyalty to lament for one whom the *inkosi* had sent for, and whose services he consequently needed; and it would cause him to punish them, by making the lightning again to descend and do them another injury." Further, rites of purification have to be performed by a priest at the kraal where the accident took place; and till these have been performed, none of the inhabitants may leave the kraal or have intercourse with other people. Meantime their heads are shaved and they must abstain from drinking milk. The rites include a sacrifice and the inoculation of the people with powdered charcoal. See "Mr. Warner's Notes," in Col. Maclean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), pp. 82-84. Sometimes, however, the ghosts of persons who have been killed by lightning are deemed to be dangerous. Hence the Omahas used to slit the soles of the feet of such corpses to prevent their ghosts from walking about. See J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh*

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ρουντο, τὸν τῶν πατέρων θάνατον τιμωρήσασθαι βουλόμενοι. καὶ μαντευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐθέσπισε νίκην Ἀλκμαίωνος ἡγουμένου. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀλκμαίων ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς στρατείας οὐ βουλόμενος πρὶν τίσασθαι τὴν μητέρα, ὅμως στρατεύεται· λαβοῦσα γὰρ Ἐριφύλη παρὰ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκουσ τὸν πέπλον συνέπεισε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας στρατεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ἡγεμόνα Ἀλκμαίωνα ἐλόμενοι Θήβας ἐπολέμουν. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ στρατευόμενοι οἷδε· Ἀλκμαίων καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος Ἀμφιαράου, Αἰγιαλεὺς Ἀδράστου, Διομήδης Τυδέως, Πρόμαχος Παρθενοπαίου, Σθένελος Καπανέως, Θερσάνδρος Πολυνείκουσ, Εὐρύαλος<sup>1</sup> Μηκιστέως. <sup>3</sup> οὗτοι πρῶτον μὲν πορθοῦσι τὰς πέριξ κώμας, ἔπειτα τῶν Θηβαίων ἐπελθόντων Λαοδάμαντος

<sup>1</sup> Εὐρύαλος Heyne: Εὐρύπυλος Α.

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*Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 420. For more evidence of special treatment accorded to the bodies of persons struck dead by lightning, see A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 39 sq.; *id.* *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1894), p. 49; Rev. J. H. Weeks, "Notes on some customs of the Lower Congo people," *Folk-Lore*, xx. (1909), p. 475; Rendel Harris, *Boanerges* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 97; A. L. Kitching, *On the backwaters of the Nile* (London, 1912), pp. 264 sq. Among the Barundi of Central Africa, a man or woman who has been struck, but not killed, by lightning becomes thereby a priest or priestess of the god Kiranga, whose name he or she henceforth bears and of whom he or she is deemed a bodily representative. And any place that has been struck by lightning is enclosed, and the trunk of a banana-tree or a young fig-tree is set up in it to serve as the temporary abode of the deity who manifested himself in the lightning. See H. Meyer, *Die Barundi* (Leipzig, 1916), pp. 123, 135.

avenge the death of their fathers;<sup>1</sup> and when they consulted the oracle, the god predicted victory under the leadership of Alcmaeon. So Alcmaeon joined the expedition, though he was loath to lead the army till he had punished his mother; for Eriphyle had received the robe from Thersander, son of Polynices, and had persuaded her sons also<sup>2</sup> to go to the war. Having chosen Alcmaeon as their leader, they made war on Thebes. The men who took part in the expedition were these: Alcmaeon and Amphilo-chus, sons of Amphiaraus; Aegialeus, son of Adras-tus; Diomedes, son of Tydeus; Promachus, son of Parthenopæus; Sthenelus, son of Capaneus; Ther-sander, son of Polynices; and Euryalus, son of Mecis-teus. They first laid waste the surrounding villages; then, when the Thebans advanced against them, led

<sup>1</sup> The war of the Epigoni against Thebes is narrated very similarly by Diodorus Siculus (iv. 66). Compare Pausanias, ix. 5. 13 sq., ix. 8. 6, ix. 9. 4 sq.; Hyginus, *Fab.* 70. There was an epic poem on the subject, called *Epigoni*, which some people ascribed to Homer (Herodotus, iv. 32; *Biographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann, pp. 42 sq.), but others attributed it to Antimachus (Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1270). Compare *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. G. Kinkel, pp. 13 sq. Aeschylus and Sophocles both wrote tragedies on the same subject and with the same title, *Epigoni*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 19, 173 sq.; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, i. 129 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The sons of Eriphyle were Alcmaeon and Amphilo-chus, as we learn immediately. The giddy and treacherous mother persuaded them, as she had formerly persuaded her husband Amphiaraus, to go to the war, the bauble of a necklace and the gewgaw of a robe being more precious in her sight than the lives of her kinsfolk. See above, iii. 6. 2; and as to the necklace and robe, see iii. 4. 2, iii. 6. 1 and 2; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 66. 3.



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- τοῦ Ἐπεοκλέους ἡγουμένου γενναίως μάχονται. καὶ Λαοδάμας μὲν Αἰγιάλεα κτείνει, Λαοδάμαντα δὲ Ἀλκμαίων. καὶ μετὰ τὸν τούτου θάνατον Θηβαῖοι συμφεύγουσιν εἰς τὰ τεῖχη. Τειρεσίου δὲ εἰπόντος αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν Ἀργεῖους κήρυκα περὶ διαλύσεως ἀποστέλλειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ φεύγειν, πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους κήρυκα πέμπουσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπήνας τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἔφευγον. νύκτωρ δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λεγομένην Τιλφοῦσσαν<sup>1</sup> κρήνην παραγενομένων αὐτῶν, Τειρεσίας ἀπὸ ταύτης πιὼν αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον κατέστρεψε. Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ διελθόντες,
- 4 πόλιν Ἐστιαίαν κτίσαντες κατώκησαν. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ ὕστερον τὸν δρασμὸν τῶν Θηβαίων μαθόντες εἰσίσαιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ συναθροίζουσι τὴν λείαν, καὶ καθαιροῦσι τὰ τεῖχη. τῆς δὲ λείας μέρος εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπουσιν Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τὴν Τειρεσίου θυγατέρα Μαντώ· ἠΰξαντο γὰρ αὐτῷ Θήβας ἐλόντες τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν λαφύρων ἀναθήσειν.
- 5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Θηβῶν<sup>2</sup> ἄλωσιν αἰσθόμενος Ἀλκμαίων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δῶρα εἰληφυῖαν Ἐριφύλην

<sup>1</sup> Τιλφοῦσσαν Heyne : τραφουσίαν Α.

<sup>2</sup> Θηβῶν Heyne : θηβαίων Α.

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<sup>1</sup> The battle was fought at a place called Glisas, where the graves of the Argive lords were shown down to the time of Pausanias. See Pausanias, ix. 5. 13, ix. 8. 6, ix. 9. 4, ix. 19. 2; Scholiast on Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 48 (68), who refers to Hellanicus as his authority.

<sup>2</sup> According to a different account, King Laodamas did not fall in the battle, but after his defeat led a portion of the Thebans away to the Illyrian tribe of the Encheleans, the same people among whom his ancestors Cadmus and Harmonia had found their last home. See Herodotus, v. 61;

by Laodamas, son of Eteocles, they fought bravely,<sup>1</sup> and though Laodamas killed Aegialeus, he was himself killed by Alcmaeon,<sup>2</sup> and after his death the Thebans fled in a body within the walls. But as Tiresias told them to send a herald to treat with the Argives, and themselves to take to flight, they did send a herald to the enemy, and, mounting their children and women on the wagons, themselves fled from the city. When they had come by night to the spring called Tilphussa, Tiresias drank of it and expired.<sup>3</sup> After travelling far the Thebans built the city of Hestiaea and took up their abode there. But the Argives, on learning afterwards the flight of the Thebans, entered the city and collected the booty, and pulled down the walls. But they sent a portion of the booty to Apollo at Delphi and with it Manto, daughter of Tiresias; for they had vowed that, if they took Thebes, they would dedicate to him the fairest of the spoils.<sup>4</sup>

After the capture of Thebes, when Alcmaeon learned that his mother Eriphyle had been bribed

Pausanias, ix. 5. 13, ix. 8. 6. As to Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria, see above, iii. 5. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See Pausanias, ix. 33. 1, who says that the grave of Tiresias was at the spring. But there was also a cenotaph of the seer on the road from Thebes to Chalcis (Pausanias, ix. 18. 4). Diodorus Siculus (iv. 67. 1) agrees with Pausanias and Apollodorus in placing the death of Tiresias at Mount Tilphusium, which was beside the spring Tilphussa, in the territory of Haliartus.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Diodorus Siculus, iv. 66. 6 (who gives the name of Tiresias's daughter as Daphne, not Manto); Pausanias, vii. 3. 3, ix. 33. 2; Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* i. 308

## APOLLODORUS

τὴν μητέρα μᾶλλον ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ χρῆσαντος Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῷ τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔνιοι μὲν λέγουσι σὺν Ἀμφιλόχῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ κτείνειν τὴν Ἐριφύλην, ἔνιοι δὲ ὅτι μόνος. Ἀλκμαίωνα δὲ μετῆλθεν ἐρινύς τοῦ μητρώου φόνου, καὶ μεμνηνὸς πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν πρὸς Οἰκλέα<sup>1</sup> παραγίνεται, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Ψωφίδα πρὸς Φηγέα. καθαρθεὶς δὲ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρσινόην γαμεί τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, καὶ τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἔδωκε ταύτῃ. γενομένης δὲ ὕστερον τῆς γῆς δι' αὐτὸν ἀφόρου, χρῆσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς Ἀχελῶν ἀπιέναι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνον παλιδικίαν λαμβάνειν,<sup>2</sup> τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πρὸς Οἰνέα παραγίνεται εἰς Καλυδῶνα καὶ ξενίζεται παρ' αὐτῷ,<sup>3</sup> ἔπειτα ἀφικόμενος εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς τῆς χώρας ἀπελαύνεται. τελευταῖον δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀχελῶου πηγὰς παραγενόμενος καθαίρεται τε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα

<sup>1</sup> Οἰκλέα Aegius: Ιοκλέα A.

<sup>2</sup> παρ' ἐκείνον παλιδικίαν λαμβάνειν Bekker: παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν † διαλαμβάνειν Wagner: παρ' ἐκείνον πάλιν διαλαμβάνειν Heyne, Westermann, Müller: παρ' ἐκείνου πάλιν διαλαμβάνειν Hercher. The MSS. (A) read ἐκείνον. Aegius changed πάλιν into πόλιν. Heyne conjectured πάλιν νοῦν ἀπολαμβάνειν. Perhaps we should read παρ' ἐκείνου καθάρσια λαμβάνειν. Compare Pherecydes, cited by the Scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xiv. 120.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ Westermann, Müller: αὐτῶν R: αὐτοῦ Heyne, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner.

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<sup>1</sup> That is, as well as to the undoing of his father Amphiaras. See above, iii. 6. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 7 *sqq.*; Diodorus Siculus, iv. 65. 7; Pausanias, viii. 24. 7 *sqq.*; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 407 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 73. Sophocles and Euripides both wrote tragedies called *Alcmaeon*, or rather *Alcmeon*, for that appears to be the more correct spelling of the name. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 153

to his undoing also,<sup>1</sup> he was more incensed than ever, and in accordance with an oracle given to him by Apollo he killed his mother.<sup>2</sup> Some say that he killed her in conjunction with his brother Amphilochnus, others that he did it alone. But Alcmaeon was visited by the Fury of his mother's murder, and going mad he first repaired to Oicles<sup>3</sup> in Arcadia, and thence to Phegeus at Psophis. And having been purified by him he married Arsinoe, daughter of Phegeus,<sup>4</sup> and gave her the necklace and the robe. But afterwards the ground became barren on his account,<sup>5</sup> and the god bade him in an oracle to depart to Achelous and to stand another trial on the river bank.<sup>6</sup> At first he repaired to Oeneus at Calydon and was entertained by him; then he went to the Thesprotians, but was driven away from the country; and finally he went to the springs of Achelous, and was purified by him,<sup>7</sup> and *sq.*, 379 *sqq.*; *The Fragments of Sophocles*, ed. A. C. Pearson, vol. i. pp. 68 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> Oicles was the father of Amphiarus, and therefore the grandfather of Alcmaeon. See i. 8. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Pausanias (viii. 24. 8) and Propertius (i. 15. 19) call her Alpheisiboea.

<sup>5</sup> So Greece is said to have been afflicted with a dearth on account of a treacherous murder committed by Pelops. See below, iii. 12. 6. Similarly the land of Thebes was supposed to be visited with barrenness of the soil, of cattle, and of women because of the presence of Oedipus, who had slain his father and married his mother. See Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 22 *sqq.*, 96 *sqq.*; Hyginus, *Fab.* 67. The notion that the shedding of blood, especially the blood of a kinsman, is an offence to the earth, which consequently refuses to bear crops, seems to have been held by the ancient Hebrews, as it is still apparently held by some African peoples. See *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, i. 82 *sqq.*

<sup>6</sup> The text is here uncertain. See the Critical Note.

<sup>7</sup> Achelous here seems to be conceived partly as a river and partly as a man, or rather a god.

## APOLLODORUS

Καλλιρρόην λαμβάνει, καὶ ὄν Ἀχελῷος προσέ-  
 χωσε τόπον κτίσας κατώκησε. Καλλιρρόης δὲ  
 ὕστερον τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἐπιθυμούσης  
 λαβεῖν, καὶ λεγούσης οὐ συνοικήσειν αὐτῷ εἰ μὴ  
 λάβοι ταῦτα, παραγενόμενος εἰς Ψωφίδα Ἀлк-  
 μαίων Φηγεί λέγει τεθεσπίσθαι τῆς μανίας ἀπαλ-  
 λαγὴν ἑαυτῷ,<sup>1</sup> τὸν ὄρμον ὅταν εἰς Δελφοὺς κομίσας  
 ἀναθῆ καὶ τὸν πέπλον. ὁ δὲ πιστεύσας δίδωσι  
 μηνύσαντος δὲ θεράποντος ὅτι Καλλιρρόη ταῦτα  
 λαβὼν ἐκόμизεν, ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Φηγέως παῖ-  
 δων ἐπιτάξαντος τοῦ Φηγέως ἀναιρεῖται. Ἀρσινόη  
 δὲ μεμφομένην οἱ τοῦ Φηγέως παῖδες ἐμβιβά-  
 σαντες εἰς λάρνακα κομίζουσιν εἰς Τεγέαν καὶ  
 διδόασιν δούλην Ἀγαπήνορι, καταψευσάμενοι αὐτῆς  
 6 τὸν Ἀλκμαίωνος φόνον. Καλλιρρόη δὲ τὴν Ἀлк-  
 μαίωνος ἀπώλειαν μαθοῦσα, πλησιάζοντος αὐτῇ  
 τοῦ Διός, αἰτεῖται τοὺς γεγενημένους παῖδας ἐξ  
 Ἀλκμαίωνος αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τελείους, ἵνα τὸν τοῦ  
 πατρὸς τίσωνται φόνον. γενόμενοι δὲ ἐξαίφνης οἱ  
 παῖδες τέλειοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξήεσαν.  
 κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ καιρὸν οἱ τε Φηγέως παῖδες  
 Πρόνοος καὶ Ἀγήνωρ, εἰς Δελφοὺς κομίζοντες  
 ἀναθεῖναι τὸν ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον, καταλύουσι  
 πρὸς Ἀγαπήνορα, καὶ οἱ τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος παῖδες

<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτῷ Heyne: ἑαυτῷ R: ἑαυτοῦ A.

<sup>1</sup> Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 7 *sqq.*; Pausanias, viii. 24. 8 *sq.* As to the formation of new land by the deposit of alluvial soil at the mouth of the Achelous, compare Herodotus, ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> According to Ephorus, or his son Demophilus, this oracle was really given to Alcmaeon at Delphi. See Athenaeus,

received Callirrhoe, his daughter, to wife. Moreover he colonized the land which the Achelous had formed by its silt, and he took up his abode there.<sup>1</sup> But afterwards Callirrhoe coveted the necklace and robe, and said she would not live with him if she did not get them. So away Alcmaeon hied to Psophis and told Phegeus how it had been predicted that he should be rid of his madness when he had brought the necklace and the robe to Delphi and dedicated them.<sup>2</sup> Phegeus believed him and gave them to him. But a servant having let out that he was taking the things to Callirrhoe, Phegeus commanded his sons, and they lay in wait and killed him.<sup>3</sup> When Arsinoe upbraided them, the sons of Phegeus clapped her into a chest and carried her to Tegea and gave her as a slave to Agapenor, falsely accusing her of Alcmaeon's murder. Being apprized of Alcmaeon's untimely end and courted by Zeus, Callirrhoe requested that the sons she had by Alcmaeon might be full-grown in order to avenge their father's murder. And being suddenly full-grown, the sons went forth to right their father's wrong.<sup>4</sup> Now Pronous and Agenor, the sons of Phegeus,<sup>5</sup> carrying the necklace and robe to Delphi to dedicate them, turned in at the house of Agapenor at the same time as Amphoterus and

vi. 22, p. 232 D-F, where the words of the oracle are quoted.

<sup>1</sup> His grave was overshadowed by tall cypresses, called the Maidens, in the bleak upland valley of Psophis. See Pausanias, viii. 24. 7. A quiet resting-place for the matricide among the solemn Arcadian mountains after the long fever of the brain and the long weary wanderings. The valley, which I have visited, somewhat resembles a Yorkshire dale, but is far wilder and more solitary.

<sup>4</sup> Compare Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. 413 *sqq.*

<sup>5</sup> Pausanias (viii. 24. 10) calls them Temenus and Axion.

## APOLLODORUS

Ἄμφότερός τε καὶ Ἀκαρνάν· καὶ ἀνελόντες τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς φονέας, παραγενόμενοί τε εἰς Ψωφίδα καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὰ βασίλεια τὸν τε Φηγέα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ κτείνουσι. διωχθέντες δὲ ἄχρι Τεγέας ἐπιβοηθησάντων Τεγεατῶν καὶ τιῶν Ἀργείων ἐσώθησαν, εἰς φυγὴν τῶν Ψωφιδίων τρα-  
7 πέντων. δηλώσαντες δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ταῦτα, τὸν τε ὄρμον καὶ τὸν πέπλον ἐλθόντες εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνέ-  
θεντο κατὰ πρόσταξιν Ἀχελώου. πορευθέντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἥπειρον συναθροίζουσιν οἰκήτορας καὶ κτίζουσιν Ἀκαρνανίαν.

Εὐριπίδης δὲ φησιν Ἀλκμαίωνα κατὰ τὸν τῆς μανίας χρόνον ἐκ Μαντοῦς Τειρεσίου παῖδας δύο γεννῆσαι, Ἀμφίλοχον καὶ θυγατέρα Τισιφόνην, κομίσαντα δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον τὰ βρέφη δοῦναι τρέφειν Κορινθίων βασιλεῖ Κρέοντι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Τισιφόνην διενεγκοῦσαν εὐμορφίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς Κρέοντος γυναικὸς ἀπεμποληθῆναι, δεδοικυίας μὴ Κρέων αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ποιήσῃται. τὸν δὲ Ἀλκμαίωνα ἀγοράσαντα ταύτην ἔχειν οὐκ εἰδότα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα θεράπαιναν, παραγενόμενον δὲ εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν κομίσασθαι. καὶ Ἀμφίλοχος κατὰ

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<sup>1</sup> According to Pausanias (viii. 24. 10, ix. 41. 2), it was the sons of Phegeus, not the sons of Alcinaeon, who dedicated the necklace at Delphi. The necklace, or what passed for it, was preserved at Delphi in the sanctuary of Forethought Athens as late as the Sacred War in the fourth century B.C., when it was carried off, with much more of the sacred treasures, by the unscrupulous Phocian leader, Phayllus. See Parthenius, *Narrat.* 25 (who quotes Phylarchus as his authority); Athenaeus, vi. 22, p. 232 DE (who quotes

Acarnan, the sons of Alcmaeon; and the sons of Alcmaeon killed their father's murderers, and going to Psophis and entering the palace they slew both Phegeus and his wife. They were pursued as far as Tegea, but saved by the intervention of the Tegeans and some Argives, and the Psophidians took to flight. Having acquainted their mother with these things, they went to Delphi and dedicated the necklace and robe<sup>1</sup> according to the injunction of Achelous. Then they journeyed to Epirus, collected settlers, and colonized Acarnania.<sup>2</sup>

But Euripides says<sup>3</sup> that in the time of his madness Alcmaeon begat two children, Amphilochnus and a daughter Tisiphone, by Manto, daughter of Tiresias, and that he brought the babes to Corinth and gave them to Creon, king of Corinth, to bring up; and that on account of her extraordinary comeliness Tisiphone was sold as a slave by Creon's spouse, who feared that Creon might make her his wedded wife. But Alcmaeon bought her and kept her as a handmaid, not knowing that she was his daughter, and that coming to Corinth to get back his children he recovered his son also. And Amphilochnus colonized

the thirtieth book of the history of Ephorus as his authority).

<sup>2</sup> Compare Thucydides, ii. 102. 9; Pausanias, viii. 24. 9, who similarly derive the name of Acarnania from Acarnan, son of Alcmaeon. Pausanias says that formerly the people were called Curetes.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is no doubt to one of the two lost tragedies which Euripides composed under the title *Alcmaeon*. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. A. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 479 sqq.



## APOLLODORUS

χρησμούς Ἄπόλλωνος Ἀμφιλοχικὸν Ἄργος  
ᾤκισεν.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. Ἐπανάγωμεν δὲ νῦν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Πε-  
λασγόν, ὃν Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν Διὸς λέγει καὶ Νιό-  
βης, καθάπερ ὑπέθεμεν, Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτόχθονα.  
τούτου καὶ τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατρὸς Μελιβοίας, ἧ  
καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσι νύμφης Κυλλήνης, παῖς  
Λυκάων ἐγένετο, ὃς βασιλεύων Ἀρκάδων ἐκ πολ-  
λῶν γυναικῶν πενήκοντα παῖδας ἐγέννησε· Με-  
λαινέα<sup>2</sup> Θεσπρωτὸν Ἐλικά Νύκτιμον Πευκέτιον,  
Καύκωνα Μηκιστέα Ὀπλέα Μακαρέα Μάκεδνον,  
Ὅρον<sup>3</sup> Πόλιχον Ἀκόντην Εὐαίμονα Ἀγκύορα,  
Ἀρχεβάτην Καρτέρωνα Αἰγαίωνα Πάλλαυτα  
Εὖμονα, Κάνηθον Πρόθοον Λίνον Κορέθοντα<sup>4</sup>  
Μαίναλον, Τηλεβόαν Φύσιον Φάσσον Φθίον  
Λύκιον, Ἀλφίηρον Γενέτορα Βουκολίωνα Σωκλέα  
Φινέα, Εὐμήτην Ἀρπαλέα Πορθέα Πλάτωνα  
Αἴμονα, Κύναιθον Λέοντα Ἀρπάλυκον Ἡραιέα  
Τιτάναν, Μαντινέα<sup>5</sup> Κλείτορα Στύμφαλον Ὀρχο-  
μενόν. . . οὗτοι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέβαλλον<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ᾤκισεν Wagner (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 980, Ἀμφιλοχος τὸ κληθὲν Ἄργος Ἀμφιλοχικόν . . . κατόκισε, where, however, some MSS. read κατόκισε): ᾤκησεν A, Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> Μελαινέα Wagner (comparing Pausanias, viii. 3. 3, viii. 26. 8): μάλλαυτον R<sup>a</sup>: μαίλαυτον B: μαίλαυτον C: Μαίναλον Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher. But Μαίναλος is mentioned a few lines below.

<sup>3</sup> Ὅρον. Heyne conjectured Οἰνωτρόν (compare Pausanias, viii. 3. 5).

<sup>4</sup> Ὁρεσθέα Hercher (comparing Pausanias, viii. 3. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Μαντινέα Heyne (compare Pausanias, viii. 3. 4): μαντι-  
ροῦν A.

<sup>6</sup> ὑπερέβαλλον E: ὑπερέβαλον A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481.

Amphilochian Argos in obedience to oracles of Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

VIII. Let us now return to Pelasgus, who, Acusilaus says, was a son of Zeus and Niobe, as we have supposed,<sup>2</sup> but Hesiod declares him to have been a son of the soil. He had a son Lycaon<sup>3</sup> by Meliboea, daughter of Ocean or, as others say, by a nymph Cyllene; and Lycaon, reigning over the Arcadians, begat by many wives fifty sons, to wit: Melaeneus, Thesprotus, Helix, Nyctimus, Peucetius, Caucon, Mecisteus, Hoples, Macareus, Macednus, Horus, Polichus, Acontes, Evaemon, Ancyor, Archebates, Carteron, Aegaeon, Pallas, Eumon, Canethus, Prothous, Linus, Coretho, Maenalus, Teleboas, Physius, Phassus, Phthius, Lycius, Halipherus, Genetor, Bucolion, Socleus, Phineus, Eumetes, Harpaleus, Portheus, Plato, Haemo, Cynaethus, Leo, Harpalycus, Heraeeus, Titanas, Mantineus, Clitor, Stymphalus, Orchomenus, . . . . These exceeded all men in pride

<sup>1</sup> Amphilochian Argos was a city of Aetolia, situated on the Ambracian Gulf. See Thucydides, ii. 68. 3, who represents the founder Amphilochus as the son of Amphiarus, and therefore as the brother, not the son, of Alcmaeon. As to Amphilochus, son of Amphiarus, see above, iii. 7. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See above, ii. 1. 1.

<sup>3</sup> The following passage about Lycaon and his sons, down to and including the notice of Deucalion's flood, is copied, to a great extent verbally, by Tzetzes (*Schol. on Lycophron*, 481), who mentions Apollodorus by name as his authority. For another and different list of Lycaon's sons, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 1 *sqq.*, who calls Nyctimus the eldest son of Lycaon, whereas Apollodorus calls him the youngest (see below). That the wife of Pelasgus and mother of Lycaon was Cyllene is affirmed by the Scholiast on Euripides, *Orestes*, 1645.

## APOLLODORUS

ὑπερηφανία καὶ ἀσεβεία. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῶν βουλό-  
μενος τὴν ἀσεβειαν πειρᾶσαι εἰκασθεὶς ἀνδρὶ  
χερνήτη παραγίνεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ξένια<sup>1</sup>  
καλέσαντες, σφάξαντες ἕνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα,  
τοῖς ἱεροῖς τὰ τούτου σπλάγγνα συναναμίξαντες  
παρέθεσαν, συμβουλεύσαντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου  
ἀδελφοῦ Μαινάλου. Ζεὺς δὲ <μυσαχθεὶς><sup>2</sup> τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ξένια Hercher: ξενία A, Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481, Wagner.

<sup>2</sup> μυσαχθεὶς inserted by Aegius (compare Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481).

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<sup>1</sup> With this and what follows compare Nicolaus Damascenus, *frag.* 43 (*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Müller, iii. 378; Suidas, *s.v.* Λυκάων): "Lycaon, son of Pelasgus and king of Arcadia, maintained his father's institutions in righteousness. And wishing like his father to wean his subjects from unrighteousness he said that Zeus constantly visited him in the likeness of a stranger to view the righteous and the unrighteous. And once, as he himself said, being about to receive the god, he offered a sacrifice. But of his fifty sons, whom he had, as they say, by many women, there were some present at the sacrifice, and wishing to know if they were about to give hospitality to a real god, they sacrificed a child and mixed his flesh with that of the victim, in the belief that their deed would be discovered if the visitor was a god indeed. But they say that the deity caused great storms to burst and lightnings to flash, and that all the murderers of the child perished." A similar version of the story is reported by Hyginus (*Fab.* 176), who adds that Zeus in his wrath upset the table, killed the sons of Lycaon with a thunderbolt, and turned Lycaon himself into a wolf. According to this version of the legend, which Apollodorus apparently accepted, Lycaon was a righteous king, who ruled wisely like his father Pelasgus before him (see Pausanias, viii. 1. 4-6), but his virtuous efforts to benefit his subjects were frustrated by the wickedness and impiety of his sons, who by exciting the divine anger drew down destruction on themselves and on their virtuous parent, and

and impiety; and Zeus, desirous of putting their impiety to the proof, came to them in the likeness of a day-labourer. They offered him hospitality and having slaughtered a male child of the natives, they mixed his bowels with the sacrifices, and set them before him, at the instigation of the elder brother Maenalus.<sup>1</sup> But Zeus in disgust upset the

even imperilled the existence of mankind in the great flood. But according to another, and perhaps more generally received, tradition, it was King Lycaon himself who tempted his divine guest by killing and dishing up to him at table a human being; and, according to some, the victim was no other than the king's own son Nyctimus. See Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.* ii. 36, p. 31, ed. Potter; Nonnus, *Dionys.* xviii. 20 *sqq.*; Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, iv. 24. Some, however, said that the victim was not the king's son, but his grandson Arcas, the son of his daughter Callisto by Zeus. See Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8; Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 4; *Scholia in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 387 (in Martianus Capella, ed. Fr. Eyssenhardt). According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* i. 218 *sqq.*), the victim was a Molossian hostage. Others said simply that Lycaon set human flesh before the deity. See Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* xi. 128; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 5 (First Vatican Mythographer, 17). For this crime Zeus changed the wicked king into a wolf, according to Hyginus, Ovid, the Scholiast on Caesar Germanicus, and the First Vatican Mythographer; but, on the other hand, Clement of Alexandria, Nonnus, Eratosthenes, and Arnobius say nothing of such a transformation. The upsetting of the table by the indignant deity is recorded by Eratosthenes (*l.c.*) as well as by Hyginus (*l.c.*) and Apollodorus. A somewhat different account of the tragical occurrence is given by Pausanias, who says (viii. 2. 3) that Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, after which he was immediately turned into a wolf.

These traditions were told to explain the savage and cruel rites which appear to have been performed in honour of Lycaean Zeus on Mount Lycaeus down to the second century of our era or later. It seems that a human victim

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μὲν τράπεζαν ἀνέτρεψεν, ἔνθα νῦν Τραπεζοῦς  
καλεῖται ὁ τόπος, Λυκάονα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τούτου  
παῖδας ἐκεραύνωσε, χωρὶς τοῦ νεωτάτου Νυκτίμου·

was sacrificed, and that his inward parts (*σπλάγχνον*), mixed with that of animal victims, was partaken of at a sort of cannibal banquet by the worshippers, of whom he who chanced to taste of the human flesh was believed to be changed into a wolf and to continue in that shape for eight years, but to recover his human form in the ninth year, if in the meantime he had abstained from eating human flesh. See Plato, *Republic*, viii. 16, p. 565 D E; Pausanias, viii. 2. 6. According to another account, reported by Varro on the authority of a Greek writer Euanthes, the werewolf was chosen by lot, hung his clothes on an oak-tree, swam across a pool, and was then transformed into a wolf and herded with wolves for nine years, afterwards recovering his human shape if in the interval he had not tasted the flesh of man. In this account there is no mention of cannibalism. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 81; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. A certain Arcadian boxer, named Damarchus, son of Dinnytas, who won a victory at Olympia, is said to have been thus transformed into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus and to have been changed back into a man in the tenth year afterwards. Of the historical reality of the boxer there can be no reasonable doubt, for his statue existed in the sacred precinct at Olympia, where it was seen by Pausanias; but in the inscription on it, which Pausanias copied, there was no mention made of the man's transformation into a wolf. See Pausanias, vi. 8. 2. However, the transformation was recorded by a Greek writer, Scopas, in his history of Olympic victors, who called the boxer Demaenatus, and said that his change of shape was caused by his partaking of the inward parts of a boy slain in the Arcadian sacrifice to Lycaean Zeus. Scopas also spoke of the restoration of the boxer to the human form in the tenth year, and mentioned that his victory in boxing at Olympia was subsequent to his experiences as a wolf. See Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 82; Augustine, *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 17. The continuance of human sacrifice in the rites of Lycaean Zeus on Mount Lycaeus is hinted at by Pausanias

table at the place which is still called Trapezus,<sup>1</sup> and blasted Lycaon and his sons by thunderbolts, all but Nyctimus, the youngest; for Earth was quick enough

(viii. 38. 7) in the second century of our era, and asserted by Porphyry (*De abstinentia*, ii. 27; Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, iv. 16. 6) in the third century.

From these fragmentary notices it is hardly possible to piece together a connected account of the rite; but the mention of the transformation of the cannibal into a wolf for eight or nine years suggests that the awful sacrifice was offered at intervals either of eight or of nine years. If the interval was eight years, it would point to the use of that eight years' cycle which played so important a part in the ancient calendar of the Greeks, and by which there is reason to think that the tenure of the kingship was in some places regulated. Perhaps the man who was supposed to be turned into a wolf acted as the priest, or even as the incarnation, of the Wolf God for eight or nine years till he was relieved of his office at the next celebration of the rites. The subject has been learnedly discussed by Mr. A. B. Cook (*Zeus*, i. 63-99). He regards Lycaean Zeus as a god of light rather than of wolves, and for this view there is much to be said. See my note on Pausanias, viii. 38. 7 (vol. iv. pp. 385 sq.). The view would be confirmed if we were sure that the solemn sacrifice was octennial, for the octennial period was introduced in order to reconcile solar and lunar time, and hence the religious rites connected with it would naturally have reference to the great celestial luminaries. As to the octennial period, see the note on ii. 5. 11. But with this view of the festival it is difficult to reconcile the part played by wolves in the myth and ritual. We can hardly suppose, with some late Greek writers, that the ancient Greek word for a year, *λυκάβας*, was derived from *λύκος*, "a wolf," and *βαίω*, "to walk." See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 26; Artemidorus, *Onirocrit.* ii. 12; Eustathius, on Homer, *Od.* xiv. 161, p. 1756.

<sup>1</sup> As to the town of Trapezus, see Pausanias, viii. 3. 3, viii. 5. 4, viii. 27. 4-6, viii. 29. 1, viii. 31. 5. The name is derived by Apollodorus from the Greek *trapeza*, "a table." Compare Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 8.

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φθάσασα<sup>1</sup> γὰρ ἡ Γῆ καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Διὸς  
 2 ἐφαψαμένη τὴν ὄργην κατέπαυσε. Νυκτίμου δὲ  
 τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ὁ ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος  
 κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο. τοῦτον ἔνιοι διὰ τὴν τῶν  
 Λυκάονος παίδων δυσσέβειαν εἶπον γεγενῆσθαι.

Εὐμηλος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονι  
 καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστῶ γενέσθαι. Ἡσίοδος μὲν  
 γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος  
 δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερεκῦδης δὲ Κητέως. αὕτη σύν-  
 θηρος Ἀρτέμιδος οὔσα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνη στολὴν  
 φοροῦσα, ὤμοσεν αὐτῇ<sup>2</sup> μείναι παρθένος. Ζεὺς δὲ  
 ἔρασθεις ἀκούσῃ συνευνάζεται, εἰκασθεῖς, ὡς μὲν  
 ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Ἀπόλλωνι.  
 βουλόμενος δὲ Ἥραν λαθεῖν<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἄρκτον μετε-  
 μόρφωσεν αὐτήν. Ἥρα δὲ ἔπεισεν Ἀρτεμιν ὡς  
 ἄγριον θηρίον κατατοξεύσαι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγοντες  
 ὡς Ἀρτεμις αὐτὴν κατετόξευσεν ὅτι τὴν παρ-

<sup>1</sup> φθάσασα E, Wagner: ἀνασχούσα A, Aegius, Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher (inserting τὰς χεῖρας from Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481, ἡ Γῆ ἀνασχούσα τὰς χεῖρας). But τὰς χεῖρας is wanting in EA.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῇ Gale, Müller, Bekker, Wagner: αὐτοῦ A.

<sup>3</sup> λαθεῖν E: λαβεῖν A.

<sup>1</sup> See above, i. 7. 2.

<sup>2</sup> As to the love of Zeus for Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, her transformation into a bear, and finally into the constellation of the Bear, see Pausanias, i. 25. 1, viii. 3. 6 sq.; Eratosthenes, *Cataster.* 1; Libanius, in Westermann's *Mythographi Graeci, Appendix Narrationum*, 34, p. 374; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 481; Hyginus, *Fab.* 155, 176, and 177; Ovid, *Metamorph.* ii. 409-507; Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* i. 138; Lactantius Placidus, on Statius, *Theb.* iii. 685; *Scholias in Caesaris Germanici Aratea*, p. 381, ed. F. Eyssenhardt (in his edition of Martianus Capella); *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 5 (First Vatican

to lay hold of the right hand of Zeus and so appease his wrath. But when Nyctimus succeeded to the kingdom, there occurred the flood in the age of Deucalion;<sup>1</sup> some said that it was occasioned by the impiety of Lycaon's sons.

But Eumelus and some others say that Lycaon had also a daughter Callisto;<sup>2</sup> though Hesiod says she was one of the nymphs, Asius that she was a daughter of Nycteus, and Pherecydes that she was a daughter of Ceteus.<sup>3</sup> She was a companion of Artemis in the chase, wore the same garb, and swore to her to remain a maid. Now Zeus loved her and, having assumed the likeness, as some say, of Artemis, or, as others say, of Apollo, he shared her bed against her will, and wishing to escape the notice of Hera, he turned her into a bear. But Hera persuaded Artemis to shoot her down as a wild beast. Some say, however, that Artemis shot her down because she did not keep her

Mythographer, 17), vol. ii. p. 94 (Second Vatican Mythographer, 58). The transformation of Callisto into a bear is variously ascribed to the amorous Zeus himself, to the jealous Hera, and to the indignant Artemis. The descent of the Arcadians from a bear-woman through a son Arcas, whose name was popularly derived from the Greek *arktos*, "a bear," has sometimes been adduced in favour of the view that the Arcadians were a totemic people with the bear for their totem. See Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* (London, 1887), ii. 211 *sqq.*

<sup>3</sup> The Tegean historian Araethus also described the mother of Arcas as the daughter of Ceteus; according to him she was the granddaughter, not the daughter, of Lycaon, and her name was Megisto, not Callisto. But he agreed in the usual tradition that the heroine had been transformed into a bear, and he seems to have laid the scene of the transformation at Nonacris in northern Arcadia. See Hyginus, *Astronom.* ii. 1. According to a Scholiast on Euripides (*Orestes*, 1646), Callisto, mother of Arcas, was a daughter of Ceteus by Stilbe.



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θενίαν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν. ἀπολομένης δὲ Καλλιστοῦς Ζεὺς τὸ βρέφος ἀρπάσας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δίδωσιν ἀνατρέφειν Μαίᾳ, προσαγορεύσας Ἀρκάδα· τὴν δὲ Καλλιστῶ καταστερίσας ἐκάλεσεν ἄρκτον.

IX. Ἀρκάδος δὲ καὶ Λεανείρας τῆς Ἀμύκλου ἢ Μεγανείρας<sup>1</sup> τῆς Κρόκωνος, ὡς δὲ Εὐμηλος λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπελείας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἐλατος καὶ Ἀφείδας. οὗτοι τὴν γῆν ἐμερίσαντο, τὸ δὲ πᾶν κράτος εἶχεν Ἐλατος, ὃς ἐκ Λαοδίκης τῆς Κινύρου Στύμφαλον καὶ Περέα τεκνοῖ, Ἀφείδας δὲ Ἀλεὸν καὶ Σθενέβοιαν, ἦν γαμειῖ Προῖτος. Ἀλεοῦ δὲ καὶ Νεαίρας τῆς Περέως θυγάτηρ μὲν Αὔγη, υἱοὶ δὲ Κηφεὺς καὶ Λυκούργος. Αὔγη<sup>2</sup> μὲν οὖν ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους φθαρεῖσα κατέκρυψε τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἧς εἶχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην. ἀκάρπου δὲ τῆς γῆς μενούσης, καὶ μηνυόντων τῶν χρησμῶν εἶναί τι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δυσσέβημα, φωραθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς παρεδόθη Ναυπλίῳ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ παρ' οὗ Τεύθρας ὁ Μυσῶν δυνάστης παραλαβὼν αὐτὴν ἔγημε.<sup>3</sup> τὸ δὲ βρέφος ἐκτεθὲν ἐν ὄρει Παρθενίῳ θηλὴν ὑποσχούσης ἐλάφου Τήλεφος ἐκλήθη, καὶ τραφεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Κορύθου<sup>4</sup> βουκόλων καὶ ζητήσας τοὺς γονέας ἦκεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, παραγενόμενος εἰς Μυσίαν θετὸς παῖς Τεύθραντος γίνεταί· καὶ τελευτῶντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχος τῆς δυναστείας γίνεταί.

<sup>1</sup> Μετανείρας C. Keil, Hercher.

<sup>2</sup> Αὔγη Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner ; αὔτη A.

<sup>3</sup> ἔγημε Bekker, Hercher, Wagner : ἐφθειρε A.

<sup>4</sup> Κορύθου Aegius, Heyne (comparing Diodorus Siculus, iv. 33. 11) : κόρινθον P : κόρινθος A.

maidenhood. When Callisto perished, Zeus snatched the babe, named it Arcas, and gave it to Maia to bring up in Arcadia; and Callisto he turned into a star and called it the Bear.

IX. Arcas had two sons, Elatus and Aphidas, by Leanira, daughter of Amyclas, or by Meganira, daughter of Croco, or, according to Eumelus, by a nymph Chrysopelia.<sup>1</sup> These divided the land between them, but Elatus had all the power, and he begat Stymphalus and Pereus by Laodice, daughter of Cinyras, and Aphidas had a son Aleus and a daughter Stheneboea, who was married to Proetus. And Aleus had a daughter Auge and two sons, Cephæus and Lycurgus, by Neæra, daughter of Pereus. Auge was seduced by Hercules<sup>2</sup> and hid her babe in the precinct of Athena, whose priesthood she held. But the land remaining barren, and the oracles declaring that there was impiety in the precinct of Athena, she was detected and delivered by her father to Nauplius to be put to death, and from him Teuthras, prince of Mysia, received and married her. But the babe, being exposed on Mount Parthenius, was suckled by a doe and hence called Telephus. Bred by the neatherds of Corythus, he went to Delphi in quest of his parents, and on information received from the god he repaired to Mysia and became an adopted son of Teuthras, on whose death he succeeded to the principedom.

<sup>1</sup> As to the sons of Arcas, and the division of Arcadia among them, see Pausanias, viii. 4. 1 *sqq.* According to Pausanias, Arcas had three sons, Azas, Aphidas, and Elatus by Erato, a Dryad nymph; to Azas his father Arcas assigned the district of Azania, to Aphidas the city of Tegea, and to Elatus the mountain of Cyllene.

<sup>2</sup> For the story of Auge and Telephus, see above, ii. 7. 4.

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2 Λυκούργου δὲ καὶ Κλεοφύλης ἢ Εὐρυνόμης Ἀγκαῖος καὶ Ἐποχος καὶ Ἀμφιδάμας καὶ Ἴασος.<sup>1</sup> Ἀμφιδάμαντος δὲ Μελανίων καὶ θυγάτηρ Ἀντιμάχη, ἣν Εὐρυσθεὺς ἔγημεν. Ἴασου δὲ καὶ Κλυμένης τῆς Μινύου Ἀταλάντη ἐγένετο. ταύτης ὁ πατὴρ ἄρρένων παίδων ἐπιθυμῶν ἐξέθηκεν αὐτήν, ἄρκτος δὲ φοιτῶσα πολλάκις θηλὴν ἐδίδου, μέχρις οὐ εὐρόντες κυνηγοὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀνέτρεφον. τελεία δὲ Ἀταλάντη γενομένη παρθένου ἑαυτὴν ἐφύλαττε, καὶ θηρεύουσα ἐν ἐρημίᾳ καθωπλισμένη διητέλει. βιάζεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν ἐπιχειροῦντες Κένταυροι Ῥοϊκός<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ Ἰλαῖος κατατοξευθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἀπέθανον. παρεγένετο δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἀριστέων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Καλυδώνιον κάπρον, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ Πελία τεθέντι<sup>3</sup> ἀγῶνι ἐπάλαισε Πηλεΐ καὶ ἐνίκησεν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἴασος Heyne, Westermann, Müller, Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἰθαῖος A.

<sup>2</sup> γρ. Ῥοϊκος R<sup>c</sup> P (added by the first hand in the margin): λυκος ER<sup>a</sup> B: λυκούργος C. <sup>3</sup> τεθέντι E: τιθέντι A.

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<sup>1</sup> Compare Pausanias, viii. 4. 10, who mentions only the first two of these four sons.

<sup>2</sup> For the story of Atalanta, and how her suitor won her by the bait of the golden apples, see Theocritus, iii. 40-42; Hyginus, *Fab.* 185; Ovid, *Metamorph.* x. 560-680; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 14, 91 (First Vatican Mythographer, 39; Second Vatican Mythographer, 47). As Apollodorus points out, there was a difference of opinion as to the name of Atalanta's father. According to Callimachus (*Hymn to Artemis*, 215) and the First and Second Vatican Mythographers (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 54, 124), he was Iasius; according to Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 1), he was Iasion. Propertius (i. 1. 10) seems to agree with Apollodorus that her father was Iasus, for he calls Atalanta by the patronymic Iasis. But

Lycurgus had sons, Ancaeus, Epochus, Amphidamas, and Iasus,<sup>1</sup> by Cleophyle or Eurynome. And Amphidamas had a son Melanion and a daughter Antimache, whom Eurystheus married. And Iasus had a daughter Atalanta<sup>2</sup> by Clymene, daughter of Minyas. This Atalanta was exposed by her father, because he desired male children; and a she-bear came often and gave her suck, till hunters found her and brought her up among themselves. Grown to womanhood, Atalanta kept herself a virgin, and hunting in the wilderness she remained always under arms. The centaurs Rhoecus and Hylaeus tried to force her, but were shot down and killed by her. She went moreover with the chiefs to hunt the Calydonian boar, and at the games held in honour of Pelias she wrestled with

according to Diodorus Siculus (iv. 34. 4, iv. 65. 4), Pausanias (viii. 35. 10), Hyginus, and Ovid, her father was Schoeneus. Hesiod also called him Schoeneus (see Apollodorus, below), and the later writers just mentioned probably accepted the name on his authority. According to Euripides, as we learn from Apollodorus (see below), the name of the heroine's father was Maenalus. The suckling of Atalanta by the bear, and the unsuccessful assault on her by the two centaurs, Hylaeus and Rhoecus, are described, with a wealth of picturesque detail, by Aelian (*Var. Hist.* xiii. 1), who does not, however, mention her wedding race. The suitor who won the coy maiden's hand by throwing down the golden apples is called Hippomenes by most writers (Theocritus, Hyginus, Ovid, Servius, First and Second Vatican Mythographers). Herein later writers may have followed Euripides, who, as we learn from Apollodorus (see below), also called the successful suitor Hippomanes. But by Propertius (i. 1. 9) and Ovid (*Ars Amat.* ii. 188) the lover is called Milanion, which nearly agrees with the form Melanion adopted by Apollodorus. Pausanias seems also to have agreed with Apollodorus on this point, for he tells us (iii. 12. 9) that Parthenopaeus, who was a son of Atalanta (see below), had Melanion for his father.

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ἀνευροῦσα δὲ ὕστερον τοὺς γονέας, ὡς ὁ τ  
 γαμῆν αὐτὴν ἔπειθεν ἀπιούσα εἰς σταδιαῖον  
 καὶ πήξασα μέσον σκόλοπα τρίπηχυν, ἐν  
 τῶν μνηστευομένων τοὺς δρόμους προιεῖσα<sup>1</sup>  
 χαζε καθωπλισμένη καὶ καταληφθέντι μὲν α  
 θάνατος ὠφείλετο, μὴ καταληφθέντι δὲ γ  
 ἤδη δὲ πολλῶν ἀπολομένων<sup>2</sup> Μελανίων αὐτῆς  
 θεὸς ἦκεν ἐπὶ τὸν δρόμον, χρύσεια μήλα κο  
 παρ' Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ διωκόμενος ταῦτα ἔρρι  
 ἢ δὲ ἀναιρουμένη τὰ ριπτόμενα<sup>3</sup> τὸν δρομο  
 κήθη. ἔγημεν οὖν αὐτὴν Μελανίων. καὶ  
 λέγεται θηρεύοντας αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ  
 νοσ Διός, κάκεῖ συνουσιάζοντας εἰς λέοντας<sup>5</sup>  
 γῆναι. Ἡσίοδος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι τὴν Ἀταλ  
 οὐκ Ἰάσου ἀλλὰ Σχοινέως εἶπον, Εὐριπίδ

<sup>1</sup> προιεῖσα Heyne, Müller, Hercher, Wagner: προϊ  
 Westermann, Bekker. If the manuscript reading π  
 were retained, the meaning would be that in the race A  
 was given a start and her suitors had to overtake  
 whereas from the express testimony of Hyginus (*Fab*  
 confirmed by the incident of the golden apples, we kno  
 on the contrary it was the suitors who were given a  
 while Atalanta followed after them.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: αὐτῶ EA, Weste  
 Müller.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολομένων Bekker, Hercher, Wagner: ἀπολλυμέ

<sup>4</sup> ριπτόμενα EL: ριπτούμενα A.

<sup>5</sup> λέοντας E: πλέοντας A.

<sup>1</sup> According to Ovid (*Metamorph.* x. 644 *sqq.*) the g  
 brought the golden apples from her sacred field of Ta  
 the richest land in Cyprus; there in the midst of th  
 grew a wondrous tree, its leaves and branches resp  
 with crackling gold, and from its boughs Aphrodite p  
 three golden apples. But, according to others, the  
 came from the more familiar garden of the Hesperide

Peleus and won. Afterwards she discovered her parents, but when her father would have persuaded her to wed, she went away to a place that might serve as a race-course, and, having planted a stake three cubits high in the middle of it, she caused her wooers to race before her from there, and ran herself in arms; and if the wooer was caught up, his due was death on the spot, and if he was not caught up, his due was marriage. When many had already perished, Melanion came to run for love of her, bringing golden apples from Aphrodite,<sup>1</sup> and being pursued he threw them down, and she, picking up the dropped fruit, was beaten in the race. So Melanion married her. And once on a time it is said that out hunting they entered into the precinct of Zeus, and there taking their fill of love were changed into lions.<sup>2</sup> But Hesiod and some others have said that Atalanta was not a daughter of Iasus, but of Schoeneus; and Euripides

Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 14 (First Vatican Mythographer, i. 39).

<sup>2</sup> The sacrilege and its punishment are recorded also by Hyginus (*Fab.* 185), Servius (on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 113), and the First Vatican Mythographer (*Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. p. 14, fab. 39). The reason why the lovers were turned into a lion and a lioness for their impiety is explained by the ancient mythographers to be that lions do not mate with each other, but with leopards, so that after their transformation the lovers could never repeat the sin of which they had been guilty. For this curious piece of natural history they refer to Pliny's *Natural History*; but all that Pliny, in the form in which he has come down to us, appears to affirm on this subject is, that when a lioness forgot her dignity with a leopard, her mate easily detected and vigorously punished the offence (*Nat. Hist.* viii. 43). What would have happened if the lion had similarly misbehaved with a leopardess is not mentioned by the natural historian.

## APOLLODORUS

Μαινάλου, καὶ τὸν γήμαντα αὐτὴν οὐ Μελανίωνα  
ἀλλὰ Ἴππομένην. ἐγέννησε δὲ ἐκ Μελανίωνος  
Ἄταλάντη ἢ Ἄρεος Παρθενοπαίου, ὃς ἐπὶ Θήβας  
ἔστρατεύσατο.

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<sup>1</sup> See above, note on p. 399. It may have been in his lost tragedy, *Meleager*, that Euripides named the father and husband of Atalanta. She is named in one of the existing fragments (No. 530) of the play. See *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, ed. Nauck<sup>2</sup>, pp. 525 *sqq.*

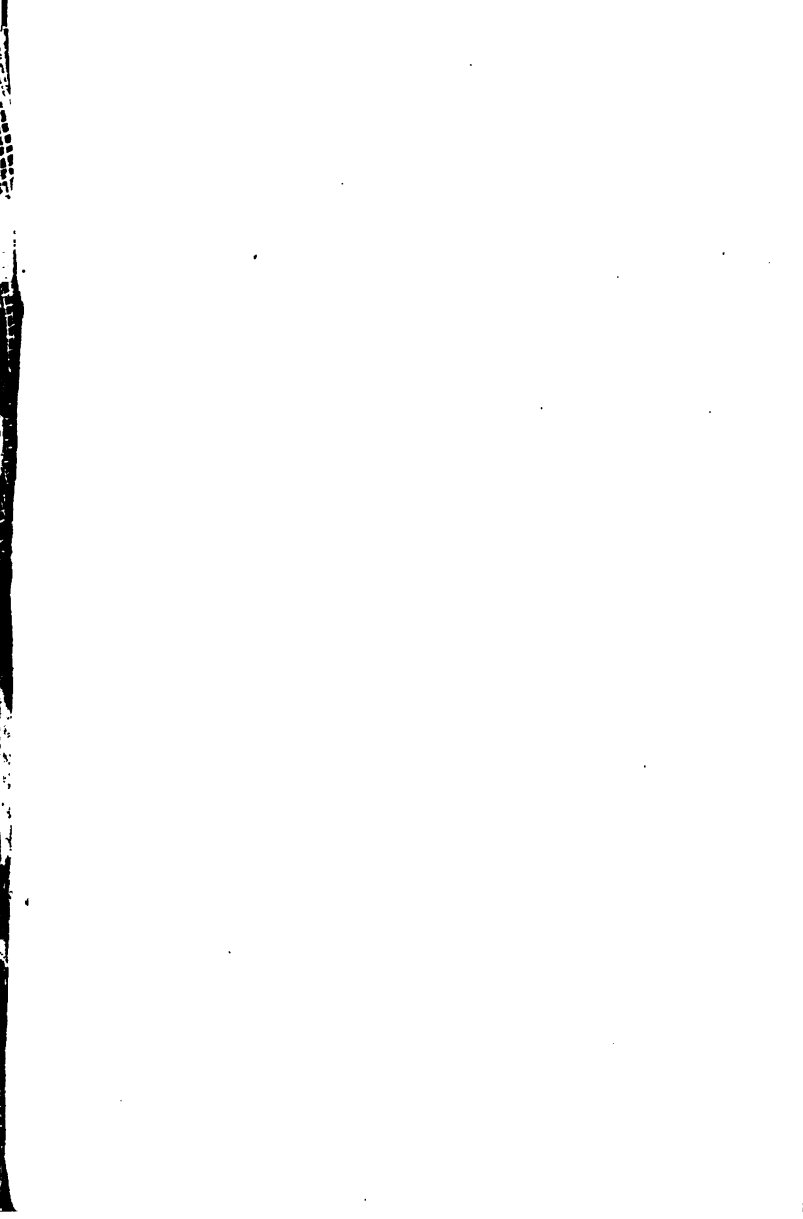
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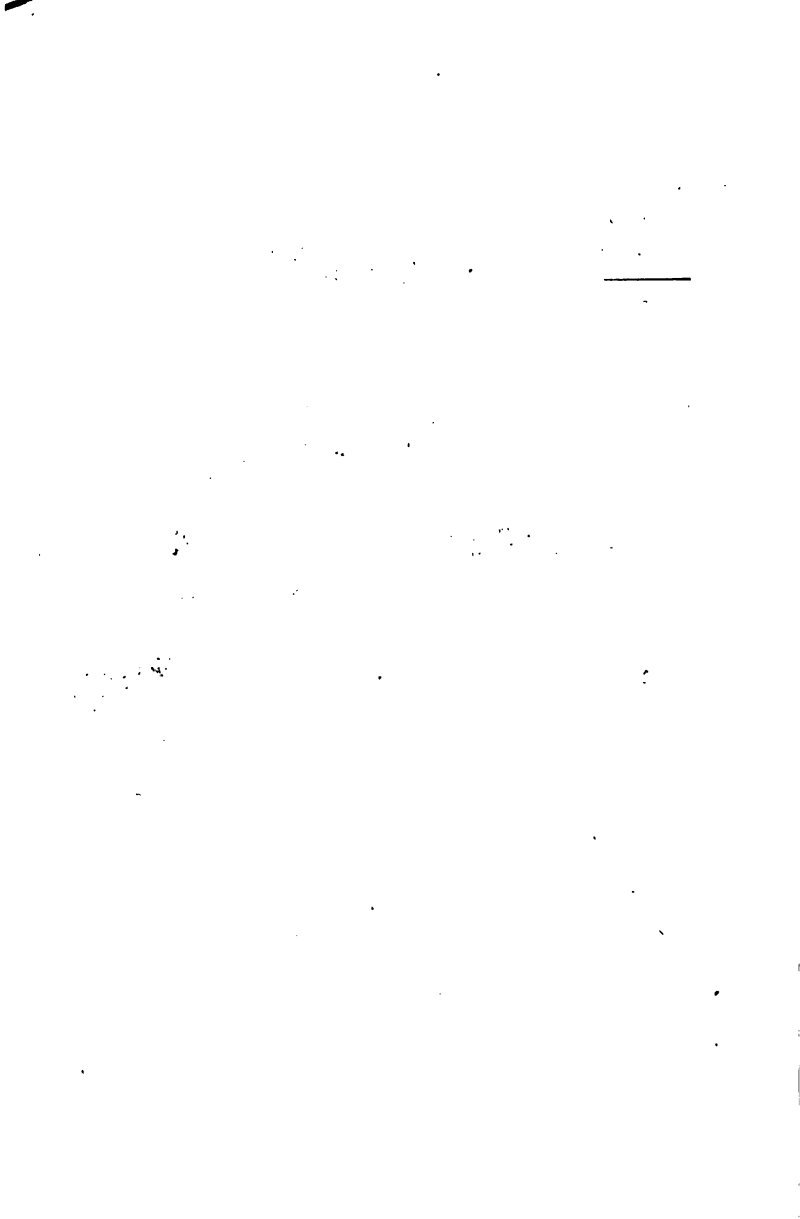
says that she was a daughter of Maenalus, and that her husband was not Melanion but Hippomenes.<sup>1</sup> And by Melanion, or Ares, Atalanta had a son Parthenopæus, who went to the war against Thebes.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See above, iii. 6. 3. According to others, the father of Parthenopæus was neither Melanion nor Ares, but Meleager. See Hyginus, *Fab.* 70, 99, and 270; *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini*, ed. G. H. Bode, vol. i. pp. 54, 125 (First Vatican Mythographer, 174; Second Vatican Mythographer, 144).



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